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H.F.M

Legislative Council to condemn a Prime Minister who spoke arrogantly without paying the least regard to the Indians, what is the use of its existance? The confidence of many persons in the Governor will diminish hereafter on account of this blunder. Further, this act will open the way to the non-co-operators, who are almost on the point of political death, to dance a little with joy. And it is pitiable that Lord Willingdon, who professes to be a ripe politician, should not have realized this fact. While a smimilar resolution was allowed in the Lefislative Assembly, why sould it be disallowed only here? It is detestable that a Governor of Indians should without coming forward to safeguard their rights, seek means to protect the Premier who reviled them.

Referring to the resolution passed in the Legislative Assembly regarding the speech of Mr. Lloyd George in Parliament and to the resolution regarding the adjournment of the House moved in the local Legislative Council to consider this speech, the NAVASAKTI, of the 15th September, observes:- The speechof Sir William Vincent at the time ofthe Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms is characterized by the same stiffness which was characteristic of his utterances at the time of the Monto-Morley Reforms. Lord Willingdon is now conducting the administration in the same manner as he did during the time f the Minto-Morley Reforms. How has the mentality of the authorities changed under the new Reforms? The speech of Sir William in opposing the resolution in the Legislative Assembly was full of pride and ignorance. He warned the House in effect that, if the resolution was carried, it would be biting the hand that fed it. He has practically accused India of

ingratitude. We need not say in whom this rare quality is prominent. We hope that Sir William knows very well about the rare deeds of Lord Sydenham, Lord Ampthill, Sir Michael O8Dwyer and others. Coming to the Madras Council, the motin of Mr. Krishnan Nayar to adjourn the House to consider the speech of the Premier was disallowed by Lord Willingdon by a telegram from Simla, It will be well, if the Government are equally active in other matters also. We trust that this will be a lesson to those patriots who expect to attin SWARAJ by entering the Legislative Councils.

Mr. Lloyd George and the Reforms.

Referring to the speech of Mr. Lloyd George in Parliament, the SUKHODAYAM, of the 14th September reiterates the view of some other papers that the aim of the Premier in making much of the possibility of non-co-operators entering the councils is to make them do so and thereby break the very backbone of the movement and remarks:- But the non-co-operators are not blind, and this stratagem will be of no avail. The Reform Act is one that will confirm a slavish life. If we accept it, we forget ourselves and admit our incapacity to attain SWARAJ. If we compete for places in the Legislative Councils created by it, we compete to destroy thehonour and liberty of Mother Bharata. So, no true non-co-operator will enter the reformed councils. Now, coming to the condemnation of the Premier's speech by the Legislative Assembly, no purpose can be gained by it. Mr. Ranga Achariyar wanted that the British Government should be informed of the alarm of the Indians. He should have referred not to the alaram of the Indians but

to that of the moderates, of the slaves and of those who are prepared to sell patriotism for appointments and titles. It is only go get fid of slavery that 25,000 patriots are suffering in priosn. Mr. C. R. Das entered priosn only to establish a democratic rule and to secure India for the Indians Mr. Gandhi is undergoing hardship in prison for having trained the people in SATYAGRAHA so that they may not be afraid of the armoury of the bureaucrats. The non-co-operators have already given a reply to the Premier, and that is why the Government shudder at their movement. Which are the moderates going to accept, repression or democracy? Till now they acquiesced in repression and retarded the attainment of SWARAJ. The Premier and the Government of India condemn the moderates for not supporting them wholeheartedly. Are they going to help the Government to work out their plan or are they going to co-operate with the country?

LAB The Madras mill disturbances.

31. The NAVASAKTI, of the 15th September, writes:- It was stated in the Council that Rs. 10,560 were spent towards the transport of the military and the police during the Madras mill distrubances. If transport charges alone amounted to this, we need not say what amount of money would have been spent towards their unpeep and we wonder again howmuch more was spent on account of the Ayling Committee.

The Mappilla train tragedy.

32. Remarking that a very long time has elapsed since the Mappilla disturbances ended, the SUTANDIRAN, of the 3rd September, writes:- It is only Mr. Hitchcock the Superintendent

of Police, that was the root-cause of the disturbances, that has had the good fortune and the right to write the history of the same. If the thief becomes the judge, he will only pass a judgment asking why more money was not kept in the place where the theft occurred. The authorities in Malabar rsorted to repression repeatedly and exercised their powers with the idea that the law existed only for harassing the subjects. Anarchy and ryot start first with the authorities; but it is only the subjects that suffer in the end. The measures adopted by the Government for putting down these disturbances were detestable. The Government interpreted the word 'Mappillas' to mean 'rebels'. Their contention is that, as a rebel is a criminal whether he creates a rebellion or not, he should be subjected to punishment. A curious piece of logic! Thus, all the Mappillas became seditionists, Sir William Vincent called them also traitors to the country. But it is only he that knows how a traitor to the King can become a traitor to the country as well. The English officials may be loyal. But my idea is that, unless and until they learn the manners, customs and language of the Indians and exhibit their love for the country, they themselves are the 'traitors' to India. . . . . . It is not known whether they made the rebels stand in the box of trial; but they did shove them into the box of murder and slammed the door. About seventy Mappilla prisoners breathed their last before they came to the Pollachi from Tirur. The Knapp Committee conducted its inquiry and came to the conclusin that none were at fault. The report of this committee went to Simla Committee mostly. My mind despairs a little at finding the attitude of the Government who were responsible for the death of about seventy persons

not undergoing a Change . Seditionists are not so low as thieves. If their agitation succeeds, it is the aforesaid seditionists that will carry on the administration. Hence, it will be proper to treat political prisoners like heroes in war. But will the Government of India esily acknowledge this? Can ordinary human nature be found in a Government with a mentality which sends people to jail for the slightest offence? . . . . . But what is the use of throwing the blame on Sergeant Andrews? Hace the committee come to this conclusion because he commands no influence whatever? The cause of disturbances is the ignorance, unyielding pertinacity and the blind arrogance of power of the district officials They alone are responsible for the cruelties committed after the disturbances. But there is no use blaming them. For, this is the fineness of the administration carried on in India. We should, therefore, get rid of our ignorance. Indians will not be deluded by blaming and punishing Andrews and oth r policemen. The Government will not profit in the least by thus attempting to administer an eye-salve to the Indians. The only result of this will be the disgust caused in the minds of the subordinate officals against the Government. When the rumour "They catch hold of minor officials, having no inclination to betray the higher ones" spreads to the police lines and amongst te subordiate officals, it is tantamount to non-co-operation propaganda carfied on for a period of ten ~~xxxx~~ years. And we cannot now guage the advantage thereof. If a just conclusion is to be arrived at, Hitchcock should be removed from service and tried for murder along with Mr. Evans.

The pension of Mr. Davidson, who supported the acts of these persons, should be stopped and he should be tried for abetment. Mr. Vincent, the Home Member, should tender an apology to the Indians in the Legislative Assembly for his hasty speech. All the Mappilla prisoners should be released from jail. The leaders of non-co-operation should be permitted to go to Malabar. Martial Law administration should be cancelled. This is, of course, a long list. But there is no other alternative. Some persons may ridicule this as being impracticable. But his ridicule is not born of stengty but constitutes the blessing of the slave who serves power. If Indians sttain the power to fulfil what has been suggested above, that alone is SWARAJ. And it is only for that that we should strive.

In a note, the MANORAMA, of the 12th September, presents the opinion expressed by a correspondent that in their direction to the Govenment of Madras to prosecute Sergeant Andrews and to deal with the police escort of the death-wagon, the Government of India do not appear to have considered how meagre that escort was for hundred prisoners a d that it is not the police, but the persons that decided on the use of such goods trucks for the conveyance of human beings that should be severely punished.

Mappilla train tragedy.

33. Comparing satirically the speech of Lord Reading at the opening of the Indian Legislature to the words of a certain Nawab in Calcutta who is said to have refused to

Lord Reading on the Reforms.

to give up the majestic gait of his ancestors for the mere fact of his house being under fire, the SUTANDIRAN, of the 10th September, writes in the course of its leader under the initials "V.R.":- The Viceroy expressed his joy at the affectionate welcome accorded by Indians to the Prince of Wales. But the truth is that the majority of Indians did not welcome the Prince. Such being the case, it is amusing that the Viceroy should have invented a different history. This is the method of deceiving oneself by an attempt to deceive slaves and the world. The world can be deceived. But, will not the authorities get rid of their self-deception at least after discovering that the administration of India is getting difficult. The Viceroy says that his Government is evincing sympathy in the matter of the KHILAFAT. But it is only the victory of Kemal Pasha and the tend of the non-co-operation movement that can undo the injustice done to the KHILAFAT and not the zeal of the Viceroy. Though the Viceroy may carry on a bona fide correspondence with the English Ministers in regard to the KHILAFAT, the English Ministers and capitalists will not lend ear to his words. It is not, therefore, meet that he should speak about a matter that cannot be achieved by him. Again though he has stated that the frontier affairs are satisfactory and that the Amir of Afghanistan has become a friend of India, he has not uttered a word about the curtailment of military expenditure. However satisfactory the fronteir affairs may be, wars will certainly be going on there and the military officers have the capacity to see that these wars do not cease. Then, he spoke about the rights of Indians in the colonies. But a slave

is undit to colonise any land. He has no human rights whatsoever. Such being the case, what right can the Viceroy secure for the Indian slave? He expressed the joyful news that the Government of India have raised a new loan on easy terms. But my mind throbs to think of the Indian Civil Service officials having brought India to such a position that her administration cannot be carried on without raising loans. If the Government of India go on borrowing money, who can discharge that dent and how can it be discharged? I am indeed of opinion that, as Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar wrote in the YOUNG INDIA, the time has drawn near when Indians --especially the non-co-operators--should warn the Government that they will not accept the new loans. The Viceroy went on to speak of the repeal of the repressive laws. But Indians have not derived the least advantage therefrom. While even the ordinary sections of the Penal Code are auxiliary to cruel repression, there is no ground at all for the existence of these 'special' laws. Is any law needed for the administration that is being carried on now? While the inclination of even minor officials taken the shape of law and its interpretation, there is no need for the existence of even the shape of law and its interpretation, there is no need for the existence of even the Penal Code. The upshot of the Viceroy's speech is that repression is going to appear both openly and in secret, in the future also. Hence, the non-co-operators should fortify their strength, as notice has been received by them from a high quarter. They too should, like the Indian Civil Service men, make themselves the 'steel frame'. He spoke to the effect that the Indian Civil Service men were the prime,

and the Indians the auxiliary requisites for the Indian administration. But no self-respecting Indian will accept this principle. As Lord Ampthill wrote in another connexion, my idea is that these words point to the last days of the English Empire. He then said that the destiny of India was in the hands of the English Parliament. But it provokes me to laughter tohear that the English Parliament is the body to determine the fitness of Indians for SWARAJ, while it could not know on the 4th August 1914, what its onw fate would be on the 5th. The Viceroy will do well to realize that, though the fate of people is in their own hands, the fate of the future life of the English is in the hands of the Indians. Has not the Viceroy understood that cannon and shells are all growing rusty?

The self-sacrifice of the Akalis.

39. In its leader under this heading, the CONGRESS, of the 11th September, writes:- The daily course of events makes it plain that the Punjab is taking the lead in the peaceful struggle which now prevails to drive out the severe rule of the foreigners and establish the Government of the people. The Punjab is the birth-place of the Sikhs. From time immemorial, the Punjab has been the prop of the Government; has behaved humbly towards them, has been the foremost of all the countries in the manifestation of her loyalty, and has been in favour with the bureaucracy. Yet, she has been the principle scene of the exhibition of brute-force by the Government. She has sacrificed many of her dear children to the guns of the Government. She has made an offering of many of her infants to the fire of their anger. She has sacrificed to the Government officers the honour of many great PATHIVRATHAS (chaste and virtuous women,) and making many of her beloved sons crawl on their bellies on the ground,

has subjected them to intolerable disgrace. At last, she had once opened her eyes, examined her real situation, observed the true nature of the Government, awoke from a state of deep sleep, and giving up the infatuation of confidence in the Government, outwardly manifested her real nature The heart of which Indian will not be filled with patriotism and roll on the waves of pride and enthusiasm, when he sees such a Punjab which wears the armour of soul-force and proclaims to the world in a thousand voices the fame of BHARATA VARSHA (India)? From the very beginning, the Sikhs have been a great support to the Government, They have joined the rulers and have put down their own countrymen. They are such undaunted heroes that, at the mere mention of their name, even the world-famed European soldiers get confused and take to their heels through cowardice. Without understanding that it was only through their friendship that they had the shelter to stand under so long, abandoning statesmanship and falling into the well of the darkness of authority, the Government picked up a quarrel with the Akalis in a groundless, unjust and improper manner. They have unnecessarily interfered with the religious affairs of the Akalis, and are annoying them. For the last, eighteen months, there has been a struggle going on between the Sikhs and the Government. The Siromani Gurudwar Prabandhak Committee have taken a vow to reform the administration of their temples and make their co-religionists devoted to God, and have worked in that direction. The Government had lent ear to the false words of some interested Mahants, and made herculean efforts to obstruct their movement by applying their fire-arms against

the Akalis. Disappointed, and unconscious as to what to do, they abandoned their interference, and unavoidably left religious matters to the Sikhs themselves. But as the fire of shame, the result of a defeat had still glowed in their minds, they again had recourse to the manifestation of brute-force . . . . . Government did not interfere when, many times before, the Akalis had felled the trees in the garden which is the property of Gurudwar at Gurkabad. But now yielding to the machinations of the Mahant, and in pursuance of his deceptive words, and perhaps, also thinking that it was just the time to wreak their vengeance and vomit forth their heart-burning consequent on their defeat they had sustained from the Akalis some time ago, they took to the enforcement of repressive laws. Unable to endure the violation of their religious freedom, the Akalis adopted the SATYAGRAHA and began to imitate their six brethren who had been unjustly imprisoned. The Akalis have formed themselves into many batches, each composed of a hundred, and have been going one after another to Gurkabad. The police have obstructed them, and are trying to turn them back. Though the police, naturally hard, had belaboued them, plucked the hair of their head and dishonoured them by the use of the most insulting language, the Akalis manifested unparalleled self-control. Without getting disheartened as when General Dyer tortured (the people) and without crawling upon their stomachs in fear as when the Martial Law was proclaimed, the Akalis have most wonderfully made known their self-respect and manifested their soul-force which they have earned in the course of two years.

The daring and the courage shown by the Akali women in the ~~great European war, had killed even the German soldiers~~ this righteous war are beyond description. Was it not the Sikh

Regiments which, in the great European war, had kelled even the German soldiers and aaved the Allies? The heoric Sikhs, the Sikhs that slew the enemies whom the rulers had found impossible to conquer during the time of danger, had given up the mens of violence, adopted the vow of non-violence and fainted from rude beatings and wounds. Although their heads have been bleeding from their hair being plucked, they have refained from violent retaliation. They have been absolutely peaceful and have been the living embodiments of the preachings of the Mahatma. They have paved the way for the happiness of the world, and have earned the benedictions of God and man Yt, the Government have not abandoned their demoniacal deeds, and are going to perdition. We regret this very much. May those who spend their time in considering the possibility or the otherwise of the practice of the vow of non-violence and waste their hours in vain gossip, learn a lesson from the Akalis, and devote themselves to the service of their country!

Comml. The statement of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

40. Referring to the statement made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in regard to the Akali movement, and the Government interference with it, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 13th September observes:- The Akalis have been able to bear with greater patience the blows dealt with the LATHIS than the troubles which they suffered in jail, and have thus surprised the the whole world (by their endurance). As the use of the LATHIS had proved to be of no avail, the authorities once again

resorted to the method of arrests. They had put up a barbed wire-fence right round Gurudhwara, and thus prevented the Akalis from entering its precincts, and those who got in nevertheless were subjected to severe beating. But it may be supposed that this action (of the authorities) will only help to strengthen the determination of the Sikhs. If the Government had been neutral, the Mahant would have tried to establish his rights in a court of law. But as the Government had taken sides in this affair, the situation became critical. The real question at issue fell into the back-ground, while the arbitrary rule of the police came to the fore-front. We do not know why a discussion should not be allowed in the Assembly on the question of the arbitrary behaviour of the police. Let alone that the effect will continue to be the same whether a discussion in the council takes place or not. The Government of India were not able to justify the infliction of severe blows on the Akalis . . . . . Is the publication of the Gurudhwar Committee to the effect that the limbs of many of the Akalis were broken, that their noses were split, that their eyes became swollen, that their faces were smeared all over with bood, and several lost their consciousness quite untrue? If one hears the description of the press correspondents who have actually visited the scene, one's heart cannot but melt, however hard it may be. Did all these correspondents publish falsehoods? From the speech of Pandit Malaviya, it is evident that the LATHIS used by the police had brass and iron bands. It is also easy to imagine the real state of affairs from the fact that Mr. Malaviya has warned the police that it is really very cruel of them to have dragged the Akalis by the hair, which they hold very

sacred. . . . . . As the Pandit has said, one may bear even the shots of the gun but not the blows of the LATHIS. The Akalis have become the objects of praise all over the world for their endurance of such hard LATHI blows. Even a kind-hearted person like Mr. Malaviya has said the more the number of blows dealt on such Sikhs, the weaker becomes the connexion between England and India. The Akalis who have protected the 'beauty' of non-violence and Mr. Malaviya deserve, in a great measure, the gratitude of all India.

The Madras Legislative Council and the sentences passed against the non-co-operators.

50. Referring, in its leader under this heading, to the discussion in the recent session of the local Legislative Council on the resolution regarding the revision of the sentences passed on the non-co-operators, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 14th September, remarks:- The futility of the Legislative Councils in the matter of the protection of birth-rights has already become evident. The Legislative Councils may pass resolutions but cannot alter the systemof administration. . . . . . Arbitrariness seems to have increased after the advent of the Reforms. A similar state of things is goin on in all the provinces. In the Presidency of Madras the conditions are even worse. There are men in the Legislative Council who recommend the adoption of even more stringent measured than those employed at present in regard to the non-co-operators, instead of showing greater consideration towards them. The are turning a deaf ear even to matters which require ordinary humanitarian considerations. It is no wonder therefore that, under such circumstances, repression or sufferings in jail should increase. The members

of the Legislative Councils do not evince for the protection of independence, the love and the enthusiasm which they have for offices. . . . . . It is necessary that those who cry aloud for 'law', 'order' and justice in season and out of season and out of season should see that they (law, order and justice) do not perish. Law and justice are not intended merely to trouble others, they should also be employed to increase the happiness of the people and protect their independence. The friends of Law and Justice do not seem to have recognized the latter duty. It looks as though they think that 'law and justice(should only serve to increase arbitrariness. . . . . . The answer given by the Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar on behalf of the Government is strange. It is his view that there is no good inquiring into the cases of those who have no faith in British justice. Perhaps, he wants to strengthen all the more, the conviction of those who have no condidence in British justice. . . .. We think that, on account of the discussion which took place in the Legislative Council yesterday, the movement will still further be strengthened and will soon attain its object-. . . In other places, there is at least a chance to follow the rigmarole of resolutions in the Legislative Councils regarding the protection of independence; but the Madras Legislative Council is not fortunate to have even that much of it. However, the method of the local Legislature seems to be preferable. Instead of passing futile resolutions and entertaining at first vainhopes and then becoming disappointed, it is good that such a method is not followed at all. It is better not to raise vain hopes. The Madras Legislative

Council has, from the beginning, been following only one method.

SITARAM The PITHURI in the Agency tracts.

51. Referring in an editorial note under this heading to the recent disturbances in some parts of the Agency tracts of the Northern Circars, the GODAVARIPATRIKA, of the 5th September, remarks;- . . . . At present, it is not possible to definitely assign the cause for them. The obstruction offered to the traditonal rights enjoyed by the Agency people may be the cause; or it might be that the foolishness of the officials also contributed to this disturbace-. . . . It is the duty of the Government to thoroughly ascertain the causes of this disturbance and remove them. This is the work which should be done in the future. It is remarkable fact that in this disturbace, no other articles than weapons of war were looted. . . . . . It is indisputably better that both of them (the Collector and the Police Superintendent of the Godavari district) should be at one and the same place .... This is an instance to establish the unfitness of Cocanada to be the district headquarters. When the whole country is peaceful, the headquarters may be Rajahmundry, Cocanada, Korangi or Nilapalli. It is only when such a troublesome situation as this arises, that the importance of the headquarters is felt . . . . . Now, there is no question of the Brahman and the non-Brahman. The District Collectors should appoint as officials, in places near the Agency, only calm-minded, just, wordly-wise and capable men. Superintendents (Police) also should do likewise. . . . .

Under this heading, the ARYA VARTAMU, of the 10th September, writes:- The authorities are mainitaining peace with police help, but there is no information that any of the PITHURIDARS have been caught though the authorities have been searching for them in the Agency tracts. A rumour has started that some PITHURIDARS have marched through the Vizagapatam Agency towards Jeypore.

The Agency PITHURI

55. A correspondent to the TRILINGA, of the 16th September, says that SWARAJ cannot be attained merely by following the KHADDAR movement as suggested by Mr. Gandhi, and observes;- That is why many want a change in the Congress programme. Entering the Legislative Councils is the one method, and the other is the adoption of mass civil disobedience. We have no other alternatives than these two- The Congress men and those who wish to enter the Provincial Councils should only consider these two questions. Instead of doing that, however much we may keep on bawling out 'KHADDAR, KHADDAR', and however much it may be useful in removing the poverty of the people, in preventing the 'drain' of wealth from this country, and making the Lancashire merchants insolvents, still it can never give us SWARAJ. It is essential that the Congress leaders should bestow some thought on this matter.

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Congress programme.

67. The KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 28th August, says:- Several recent events have proved that a spirit of revenge has taken

possession of the administrative machinery of Malabar after the riots. The Government do not seem to have made efforts to know who were the real cause of the riots. Can the Government say why the authorities, on the mistaken impression that the culprits were the Mappillas, have been persecuting innocent Mappillas after the riots. No doubt the offenders should be brought to book. But is it becomg on the part of a Government, which declares itself tobe the first amongst the Great Powers of the world, to come to a decison dictated by vengea nce, without inquiring whether one is really guilty or not? If a Mappilla of Malabar is arrested, it is certainthat he is guilty. The trial and pronouncement of judgment are all over in a moment. It is simply disgrace ful that the authroties do not find time to hear what the arrested person has to say. We are only surprised at the fact that a Government, which proclaims that their motto is protection of the poor and love for fellow-creatures, should od such things.

MP Vengeance not justice for Mappillas.

71. The MUSLIM, of the 14th September, publishes what pupports to be a transaltion of an article published by the Bombay CHRONICLE commenting on the rejection of the resolution of Mr. Kale in the Council if State protesting against the speech of Mr. Lloyd George. It contains among other things a criticismof Sir William Vincent's proclivity to aim thrusts at a fallen foe--(Gandhi, in the present instance, the Ali

MR The aftermath of the Premier's speech.

Brothers, on a previous occasion)-- and exclaims 'a memorable example indeed of the world-famed Englishman's sense of fair-play and a first-class model of the excellence of character of British offícals in India!!!!. It speaks also of the outspokenness of Mr. Lloyd Georve as contrasted with the cunning dissimulation of the spokesamn of the Government of India (Lord Reading, Sir William Vincent, etc.)

MR Censure debate in the Indian Councils.

72. Referring to the debate in the State Council and in the Legislative Assembly and to the resolution passed in the latter criticising the Premier's speech in Parliament on the Civil Service, the YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 13th September, points out that on the whole public opinion in India is now turbid with agitation and observes that such events as tend to create a suspicion in the minds of the British people that Indians do not care for the British Parliament, for the MInisters and for the Civil Service, will not be conducive to the prosperity of the country.

Writing on the same subject, the SWARAT, of the 12th September, points out that the speech of Sir William Vincent in opposing the resolution moved in the State Council and in the Legislative Assembly is more insulting and disgraceful to Indians than the Premier's speech itself. It hopes that those congressmen who desire to enter the councils will learn at least now from the Home Member's speech that their entry into the councils will be productive of no good whatever.

The paper asks whether the appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy to the moderates at the inaguguration of the councils to see that the extremists do not enter them, does not mean that the tirty-three crores of Indians should elect only such members as are liked by the English. It thinks that the efforts of the moderates to continue constitutional agitation in spite of such threats and insults are certainly useless, and it eagerly awaits the time when the moderates will cease to make such vain efforts.

The KERALI SANCHARI, of the 13th September, regrets that great agiation is still goin on in India in respect of the Premier's speechin spite of the Viceroy's interpretation of the same, as is evidenced by Mr. Agnohotri's resolution in the Legislative Assembly, points out that the India of to-day is notthe India of yesterday, that Indians now endeavour without giving up their self_respect and freedom of action to secure thei birth-right, and that though Sir William has said that SWARAJ can be attained only by force or by the grace of the British Parliament, India hopes to get her birth-right in full measure in pursuance of the Reforms Act and the proclamation of His Majesty. In these circumstances the paper thinks there is no need to fret any more about the Premier's speech.

MP Government Order on the Knapp Committee Report.

75. Commenting on the Government Order on the Knapp Committee Report on the Mappilla train ~~Committ~~ tragedy, the MALAYALA PATRIKA of the 9th September, points out that it is not likely that

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the decison of the Government in the matter will satisfy the people at large, thinks that all those who conjointly decided upon the use of such wagons and omitted to appoint a responsible officer to check the loading of wagons are equally responsible, and says:- The extremists had long ago proclaimed that the end of the report would be mere white-washing. We think that in these circumstances the Government did not do well in not having taken such steps in the matter as would have satisfied the people. As a result of all this, the people may lose their confidence in the Government. In any case it is a matter for satisfaction that it has come to an end.

Comml. The Gurudhwara affair.

76, Remarking that the Sikhs were recently fighting the Punjab Government, as if to show that SATYAGRAHA based on suffering will in the end meet with success, the YOGAKSHEMAM of the 13th September, refers to the recent events in Gurudhwar where the Police have been, without success, persecuting the Sikhs, points out that the Punjab Government, finding repression to be of no use, have now issued a proclamation allowing the Sikhs to enter Gurudhwara, and observes that this is perhaps the first time that the greatness of non-violent suffering was tested.

III--LEGISLATION

78. Referring to the new Police Bill discussed in the Assembly, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 16th September, observes:-

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RA A new repressive law.

It appears that, while section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, requires the sanction of the Government, this new law does not require even that. Is this not offering violation to the people's independence in a greater measure than now? It cannot but look surprising that the Government should say that they have cancelled certain laws, and at thesame time introduce new laws. It is also a matter for wonder that the members of the Legislative Assembly who make unnecasary fuss on ordinary occasions, should quietly yield to the authorities when the time comes. Can we derive even an atom of benefit from the councils which are not in a position to prevent even such Bills from becoming laws? Though the Rowlatt Act is not on the Statute Book, other such laws are being introduced.

IV-NATIVE STATES.

The philosophy behind the Arms Act.

79. The MALAYALI, of the 23rd August, protests against what it considers to be an altogethr uncalled for revision of the Arms Regulations of Travancore and says in that connexion:- It is the British people that created the rule that Indians should not wear arms, the apparent reason being to prevent the oft recurring riots and raids, but the real reason hidden behind it being that without robbing the people of arms it would be impossible for 1,200 officials to quietly rule over the martial people of India. When arms were taken away from them, warlike Nayars, Sikhs and Mahrattas became meek. .

Though at the time of the European war the authroities realized the error of such a policy, they have not made any attempt to revise the Arms Act suitably to the times. They think that if Indians take to arms, Britishers will have no peace. As the snake charmer pulls out the poison-fangs of the cobra and then plays with it, so have our rulers robbed us of our arms. Every citizen has the right to carry arms for self-protection- - - . . . . It cannot be imagined that the arms in use in Travancore can cause any fear to the British Government. . . . . As Native Governments copy the undesirable Arms Regulations of British India, we in the Native States suffer the same restrictions of freedom which the people of British India suffer.

The philosophy behind the Arms Act.

The MALAYALI, of the 23rd August, in its leading article protests against the uncalled for revision of the Arms Regullation of Travancore, and publishes an article written in English by A. Narayan Pillai, B.A., B.L., on the same subject in the course of which he says:- ' It is stated in certain quarters that here also it is the pressure brought to bear on Government by the British Government through the Resident that has forced our Government to pass these rules. One would be curious to know whether the Travancore Government protested against such reactionary proposals and unjustifiable interference'.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 30TH SEPTEMBER 1922.

NO. 39 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) GENERAL.

2. THE WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 14th September, states:-

The Premier's speech.

"The course of the censure debate has revealed, clearly enough, the true nature of the relationship that subsists between the Government and the members of the Legislature. Blood is thicker than water and no cant upon the Reform Act and its possibilities has been able to withhold the champion of the Civil Service from giving a bit of his mind tothe Indian representatives who had dared to assert their own rights on an important matter. It will be difficult to deny that the attitude of the Governments in India on the Premier's position has served only to emphasise that positon and particularly that asepect of it which defines the place of the Indian Civil Service for all time in the scheme of the British Government in India. We cannot repeat too often that the spirit of the Premier's speech was infinitely more intolerable than its literal import. And we are glad that India commands self-respect enough to resent it in time. The moral is simple. The transfer of any real power to the Indian represents so muchthe less of it in the Civil Servant and, so far as we can see, there is no indication anywhere, that he has surrendered any portion of it or is willing to do so. High appointments are, after all, not much. They only thing that ought to count must be the share of the Indian in the matter

of initiating and controlling the policy of the Government. This share is now insignificant--at any rate when it has a tendency to affect the Civil Servant adversely. And the Premier's reference to the steel frame serves to remove any lingering dount which any one might have felt upon this subject. The policy of the Government must then be British hands and Indians are welcome to anything short of this".

MP The Legislative Assembly on the Mappilla train tragedy.

3. The HINDU, of the 23rd September, observes:- "The A ssembly which has of late fallen under the serious displeasure of the keepers of the bureaucratic conscience by exhibiting signs of intransigeance in matters like the censure of the Premier and the 'emasculation' of the Police Bill, has lost no time in returning to that posture of 'do-as-you-are-told' subservience which its only acceptable credentials. It has defeated a resolution calling on Government to take action on the superior officers concerned in the Mappilla train tragedy. The debate was conducted on a level of acerbity on the prt of the official spokesmen which is both a warning and a moral. The warning is that it is foolish to be deceived into thinking that a large enthusisasm for the Reforms in general necessarily connotes an acceptance of their implications indetail. The moral is that to attack official action with any greater degree of vehemence than of a feeble bleat is to write yourself down as one who has put himself outside the pale of those who are capable of demonstrating their fitness for SWARAJ. . . . . . The Assembly took due note both of the warning and the moral and helped to write

'finish' but for the coming prosecution of an underling and the casting of aspersions on a man conveniently dead, to as ghastly a tragedy as the records of 'man's ingumanity to man' have got to show".

III-LEGISLATION

6. SWARAJYA, of the 26th September, observes:-"From the special telegram which will be found elsewhere in our coulmns it seems that the Legislative Assembly is terified at the naughty behaviour it lightly indulged in two days back. In refusing permission to intorduce a Bill to afford protection to the Princes, the Assembly incurred the displeasure of Lord Reading who 'certified' the measure by the use of his extraoridinary powers and reintroduced it in the Council of State. Now comes the astonishing news that the so-called leaders of the non-officials have been closeted with the Viceroy in order to find a way to go back upon their own achievement and repudiate their previous decision as action due to temporary insanity. India can now see what the reality of the Reforms, apart from the camouflage of its popular majority, amounts to.... . . . . It now seems clear that the so-called representatives of the nation whom one of their own leading man characterised as 'mere babies in the art of Government' are going to surrender thie own liberty in order that the Government may not alienate the sympathies of the Princes. We know now where we stand with the 'Reforms' We know also what the real position of the Legislative Assembly

The Legislative Assembly and the Press Bill.

is in the politicàal life of India. By this shamefu l surrender the Assembly has alienated their own friends in the country. We now ask those who are anxious for a revision of the Congress programme, in a direction favourable to council entry whether after this crude exhibition of Viceregal autocracy which stands behind the Reforms it is worth whibe to waste national energy in such futile experiments".

The HINDU, of the 26th September, remarks:- "The Government of India's action regarding t he Press Bill shows the utter futility of the Reforms. The light-heartedness with which that Government resolved on floating the wishes of the Assembly in a matter with which ecertainly are not bound up the destinies of British rule in India, ought to have astounded even their moderate supporters. No sooner had the Assembly thrown out the measure than Lord Reading certified under section 67-B of the Government of India Act that the passage of the Bill was essential in the interests of British India; and, forthwith, to the utter confusion and dismay of the jealous and weak-kneed members of the Assembly the Bill was ordered to be intorduced into the Council of State. We think only a legal conscience could say that if the Bill was not passed, the interests of British India would be in jeopardy. . . . . We leave the public to infer how far Lord Reading's certificate that the passage of the Bill is essential to the interests of India can be held to be a BONA FIDE as distinguished from a legal, document. Whatever that be, if the certificate procedure could be brought into

operation for so flagrantly non-essential purposes, even the moderates may realise what a costly and cruel farce the Montford Reforms are in practice. And yesterday's proceedings in the Assembly of which our correspondents to-day give illuminating details show that the Assembly has not even the power of knowing why the Viceroy resorted to the high-handed procedure of certification contemptuously ignoring the Assembly's existence even. As regards the action of the members themselves in being eager to reconsider their mature decison -- a decison which has the support of the country as a whole-- we can only say that it demonstrates how much they value the good grace of the bureaucracy and how little the opinions and the wishes of their electorates. The non-official member's present attitude is one of a deplorably discreditable betrayal of the country and their constituencies. It shows that they are hardly alive to considerations of self-respect and that to be in the good books of the bureaucracy, they may agree to sacrifice, not only the interests of their country, but also their most deeply-rooted convictions and, thus, even their honour".

The Council of State and the Press Bill.

7. SWARAJYA, of the 27th September, writes:- "The Council of State has fustified its existence. It has stood by the Executive Government in the hour of need, and like a body of considerate statesmen, it passed the Press Bill in the form recommended by the Viceroy. This result was a foregone conclusion; for the August legislators had been informed in unmistakable terms that any amendments that they might attempt to carry would be inoperative and that the mere

affixture of the Viceroy's signature would suffice to enact the measure in its original form . . . . By this measure, the Darbars of the Indian Princes are effectively protected against all kinds of criticism within and without their fronteirs, and they might misrule and oppress as they will, provided always they manage to show proper respect and submission to the power of Britain. 'Oppression within, and abject submission without,' --that may come to be the order of the day in Feudatory India".

The HINDU, of the 27th September, has the following:- "Through a technical difficulty, the Assembly was saved from a self-stulitifying procedure although the members thereof seem tohave been almost ready to go to Canossa. But the Council of State, which seldom makes any such mistake as setting aside the hands that fed them, has made ample recompense. It has passed the Bill without any amendment whatsoever, with but one solitary voice of dissent. The pissues involved in this incident are of far-reaching consequences. The procedure adopted by the Government is a most high-handed one. They have a together ignored the point that in matters of legislation more parties are involved than they and the Legislature. They owed it to the general public to have published the measure a few days earlier soas to aloow time for the formulation and the expression of public opinion. They have not done so. . . . . . Mr. Thompson still harps on treaty rights. That, if these were existent, then, they are or recent origin intended to defeat the Assembly of its intentions was evident from Sir W. Vincent's reply that the

Press Act Committee before which Sir John Wood fully explained the treaty positon was not at all to blame in the matter It is most unlikely that so distinguished a layer as the Law Member and so cautious and penetrating a bureaucrat as Sir W. Vincent would have ignored treaty obligations, especially after they got the help of Sir John Wood, the Protector of the Princes' interests. Nor is it of less significance that at the time the Press Act Committee Report was published, the Government did not mention a word about the Committee's recommendations repudiating treaty obligations. The plea now put forward is therefore a clear after-thought. Else, if the Government had a good case, so astute a Treasury Bench debator as Sir W. Vincent would not have so miserably failed to secure its introduction into the Assembly. The question that now arieses is: What are the Assembly members going to do? There is no dount that the Government, without a single convincing word in justification of their conduct, have flouted their authority and altogether contemptuously ignored them. To add insult to injury theyhave set up the rival house, the gilded chamber, in a positon of greater authority within 24 hours of the Assembly's action. No responsible Government would have taken such an astoundlingly high-handed act in a matter which is certainly not in any sense urgent. If, there fore, the members of the Assembly are self-respecting enough, if they value the meagre powers which they enjoy, then, they could not do better than resign their seats".

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) GENERAL.

Lord Reading on the Reforms.

25. Referring to the comment of Lord Reading on the speech of Mr. Lloyd George in Parliament, the VINODINI, of the 13th September, remarks:- Let Mr. Lloyd George praise his brethren, the British membes of the Indian Civil Service, to the skies, or threaten to destroy India. The Indians will not be afraid of such empty threats. Lord Reading may prepare as big a comment on Mr. Lloyd George's nod as he pleases, but we will not retreat an inch in the passivewar of liberty. At a time when the whole wold knows how the British respect their word, Lord Reading goes on relating grand.mother stories condidering the Indians to be innocent children. In spite of all his observ tions, we are sure that evena thousand Readings cannot alter the determination of the non-co-operators. Let the British officals understand this clearly. The fickle-minded moderates may be easily deceived by a speech like this. Knowing that the moderates will dance to his tune, Lord Reaaing has flattered them into the belief that theyco-operated very well, so far. Resolutions of protest against the speech of Mr. Lloyd George were moved in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. But, the Government are aware that these resolutions will not affect the British Government in the least. We wish to offer a piece of advice to the moderates. You cannot attain SWARAJ by such tricks as these. However much you mayco-operate, you cannot move the British stone-god. They are not going to give you SWARAJ at any time. Arise! ~~Gine~~ Give up your

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selves in the service of the Congress to conduct the passive war of liberty, if indeed you are men, Otherwise the curse of posterity will rest upon you.

26. The VINODINI, of the 13th September, reproduces in

MILT. EXP — The miltary expendiure of India.

Tamil certain figures from an articel contributed by a correspondent to the MODERN REVIEW regarding the ependiture incurred by India from tie to time in connexion with the several wars that took place since 1838, and observes:- Is it possible that this injustice will be found in anycountry and under any Government? It is India's lot to send, at her own cost, troops to foreign countries to take part in the wars going on there, although India may have nothing to do with these. But, for the defence of India, it is stated that a British Army should be stationed in this country on a fat salary with the result that more than a half of the revenues of the Central Government is spent on the military. The Europeans raise a hue and cry that India will go to rack and ruin whenever we demand a reduction of this unjust expenditure.

28. Adverting to the sentence of hanging passed upon a

The punishment of a European soldier.

European soldier recently for having shot down an Indian boy who abused him, the TAMIL NADU, of the 17th September, observes under the initial '(V)':- There is no doubt that all persons will rejoice at this unique instance of justice having been meted out in this case. Though it is wrong on the part of the Indian to have abused the soldier, it is not right that he should have been murdered on that account. If the Government should communicate this matter to every battalion, it would be productive of good.

30. Referring to the recent proceedings of the Legislative Assembly in regard to the passing of a resoulution protesting

MR Mr. Lloyd George and the Reforms.

against the parliamentary speech of Mr. Lloyd George on the Reforms, the TAMIL NADU, of the 17th September, writes in the course of a leader under the superscription (Varadarajulu):- The pride and egotism of te servants of India are passing bounds: Lloyd George roared and the moderates, whoare the sons of Montagu, screamed in fear. Viceroy Reading gave a long interpretation of the speech of Lloyd George and the moderates were satisfied. Big discussions arose in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly which met last week. But his is a matter highly disgraceful to this land. The people of this country have arrived at such a stage in which they can treat the arrogant words of the authorities like straw and ridicule them. Nevertheless, the moderates alone have not ceased theisinging in the old strain. The Government deities speak in an unrestrained laguage at sight of the helpless puppets assembled in the council. Sir William Vincent is a tin god making much fuss and noise. He is a member of the Government of India, belings to the Indian Civil Service and is an old had. He is possessed of the egotism that he has all powers. The Viceroy, Lord Reading, is under his thumb and the will of Sir William is law. The Government of India is subject to the tyranny of Vincent. The speech of this gentleman in the Legislative Assembly last week has made every one of the foregoing words pregnant with meaning. Many more Vincents are needed if Indians should be imbued with spirit and this land should attain speedy

liberation. It is a known fact that nothing can be done by the Legislative Councils created by the Government of Lloyd George. Just as it is impossible hereafter for persons like Vincent and Lloyd George to achieve thei object by threatening the Indians with their bravado, no vast good or harm will accrue to India or the English Government by the Legislative Councils as at present constituted. Nevertheless, we shall give Sir William a lesson in history a little. Was it not the English Parliament that hanged King Charles? Was it not the Parliament that exiled King James? Was it not the German Parliament that caused the Kaiser to flee the country? Was it not the people that dethroned the Czar? It was only the king that created Legislative Councils and Parliaments in the beginning either willingly or under compulsion. It is only those councils that were responsible for their removal also. Such being the case, how will it be ungrateful to condemn Mr. Lloyd George who blabbed like a lunatic? Let us suppose that a ram is being fed. Why has not Vincent realized that it is the natural characteristic of the sprited ram to pounce upon the shepherd and throw him down when it sees that he attempts to kill or harass it. Are the Indians lower than rams? As the majority of the moderates have but the brains of the sheep, it seems perhaps that Sir William who has the brains of John Bull spole in that manner. Can some persons expect, at least hereafter, that Sir William will speak with some constraint, intellignece and absence of arrogance in an assembly consisting of pesons who are called popular representatives? Though the speech of Vincent is not important to the people of the country, it is indeed a matter of satisfaction for all persons that it is a good lashing administered to our co-operating friends. May the Lord so vouchasafe His grace as to make Vincent live for a long time

and speak in this manner frequently! But, there is one matter which deserves condemnation. He sated that the welfare of India depended upon the good intentions of the English public and this is a very mischievous utterance. The Viceroy too has spoken similarly. The white papes also write in the same way. Both the English and the Indians are created by God and are but human beings. To say that the compassion of one race is the strength of another is against nature. None will object tothe English and the Indians living together with mutual friendliness and equality. The English are no masters of Indians. Both of them are- to-day the subjects of the same Government. Let Vincent understand that India will never accept the SWARAJ that is offered as a gift by Englishmen. If the situation in the world is considered, Vincent and the men of his race cannot enjoy elysian pleasures and live in great pomp, unless they have the good-will and the co-operation of Indians.

The DRAVIDAN, of the 18th September, publishes an article in the form of an address to Lord Willingdon from the pen of a correspondent who takes exceptions to his having disallowed the resolution in the local Legislative Council for protesting against the Premier's parliamentary speech, and observes:-
You have demonstrated the truth of the assertion of the non-co-operators that the Reforms are absolutely useless and that the pwers given to the new Legislative Council are mere show as can be seen from the power of veto vested in the Governor, This is the third time you have exercised this special power and wounded the feelings of the public. If you thought that the local Legislative Council was not qualified to condemn the British Premier, you have lowered your own self. Or,

if you wished adroit/ly to save him from the censure of others, you have contemplated proving untrue to the salt you eat. Or again, if you thought that the Premier was right in having made the speech in question, we should indeed be sorry for having had you as the Governor of our province. We repeatedly assert that you have indeed committed an improper act in this matter. Are we to convene meetings throughout the Presidency to condemn you for not having allowed in the local Legislative Council a discussion of the resolution in question, while meetings were held throughout the country supporting the subject-matter of the same? Nevertheless, we shall wait and see calmly.

AI The PIONEER and the moderates.

32. Referring to the PIONEER characterizing the moderates as not being the representatives of the public, when they passed a resoution condemning the parliamentary speech of the Premier, in spite of the fact of the Anglo-Indian papers having called them, tso far, good boys who are the representatives of the public, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th September, observes:- None except the Anglo-Indians and the moderates have ever regarded the members of the Legislative Councils as their representatives. The opinion of the Congress also is the same. We shoud, therfore, appeciate the fat that the PIONEER supports the view of the Congress at least in this single instance. It is only with the aid of such persons who are not the representatives of the people that taxes are imposed on them and the administration of the country carried on. But the British are proclaiming throughout the world that responsible government has been granted to India.

MR

36. Remarking that the statement of Sir William Vincent in

Sir William Vincent.

opposing the resolution in the Legislative Assembly protesting against the speech of Mr. Lloyd George that the acceptance of such resolution by that Assembly would be like biting the hand that fed it, is tantamount to insulting the Members of the Assembly, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19gh September, observes:- His words were indeed suited to the mentality of the moderates who do not courageously demand SWARAJ which is our brithright but merely beg for the same. But, if he himself had reflected a little, he would have realized that that remark would properly apply to himself. For, both Sir William and the 'iron pillars' belinging to his class live solely on the money of India. Yet, they themselves are foremost in speaking disparagingly of the Indians and creating several obstacles in the way of India attaining self-government. The mere words of Indianizing the services are jarring on the ears of the 'iron pillars'. They have no mind to give up their powers and dignity even a little, though they are aware that the demand of India is just. We should, therefore be grateful to Sir William for having called to our mind an appellation that is suitable to such men.

Referring to the observation in effect of Sir Dinshaw

Sir William Vincent.

Wacha at the faewell dinner given to Sir William Vincent by the Members of the Council of State, that the Indians are mere babies in matters of administration and that they have much to learn from the members of the Indian Civl Service, the NAVASAKTI, of the 22nd Septmber, remarks:- What greater reward do we require than this? We think that it is old age which made Sir Wacha express himself thus. Sir William

~~Vincent~~

Vincent, who introduced sun cruel laws as the Rowlatt Act and spoke ill of the true leaders like Mr. Gandhi, is shortly retiring. Who will benefit by his retirement?

NCS The Duty of the Civil Disobedience Committee.

37. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 21st September, reproduces in Tamil extracts from a leader in the MAHRATTA on this subject, which says that it is only mass civil disobedience that will make non-violent non-co-operation serve its purpose, which is to effect a revolution by peaceful mens and establish a rival Government, that a programme is needed, in which all parties can participate and fight so as to cause great hardship to the enemies of Indians and make those enemies come to terms with them, that India wishes to strike off her fetters, get rid of foreign rule and attain self-government as soon as possible and that the public cannot accept any programme whatsoever which will prolong the time when SWARAJ can be gained.

Mil. Ex. Increase of pay to the British soldiers in India.

38. Adverting to the reply of the Government in the Legislative Assembly that the increase of pay to the British soldiers in India was not sanctioned with the consent of either the Government of India or the Secretary of State for India, the DRAVIDAN, of the 23rd September, observes:- Is this justice? If the War Office in England were to distribute English moneyto them, they are at liberty to do so according to their will and pleasure. When it is our money alone that is handled, it does not speak

xx well of them to act as they like without consulting us.

END & IND

The relations between the Government of India and the British Cabinet.

45. Referring to the view expressd by Mr. K. C. Roy, who has recently retuned from England, that there is now a conflict between Simla and Whitehall in the matter of the Indian situation, the DRAVIDAN of the 23rd September, observes:- The Joint Parliamentary Committee has already laid down that the resolutions supported both by the Indian Legislature and the Government fo India should be accepted by the Secretary of State for India as a matter of course. But waht effect has been given to this direction? Some months ago, the report of the Indian Army Requirements Committee prepared by some members of the Government of India including the Commander-in-Chief of India was despatched to the British Cabinet ofr necessary action. But no final orders have as yet been passed by the Cabinet on it. Several recommendations of the Government of India have thus been shelved by the British Cabinet! The correspondent to the TIMES says that the Engliish Government is pressing the Viceroy to levy a duty on inland cotton manufactures. The Legislative Assembly has already protested against the levy of this duty and is ti juston the part of the British politicians to insist upon the levy of a duty which is not conducive to the welfare of India? It is highly regrettable a nd reprehensible t hat the opinions of the Indian Government should be disregarded and their right of acting independently suppressed. Unless this conflict disappers xx altogeher , it is certainxx that the Reforms will not work

successfully in India. If India is not permitted to attain such political progress as suits her best, the world will certainly blame the British Government therefor and there will be o peace at all in India which will prove to be a thorn in the side of the British Empire.

End & Ind The Indo-British Empire League.

47. Writing under this heading in its leader on the object of the League recently formed, the NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 14th September, observes:- . . . . . Opportunity will be afforded for the Empire to become stronger only when equally mutual friendhship prevails between England and India. There will be a possibility of the relationship between England and India becoming happier, when the officers of the 'services' in India leave off their follish ways, and adopt such a policy as would conduce to the progress of the Indian. Though India is not created for the Empire, she cannot leave it, but Indians cannot but try to save themselves if the Imperialists should adopt any device to cause loss to this country. This is evident from the criticisms of all the sections(of the Indians) on the unwaranted speech recently made by the Prime Minister in which he lighly treated India.

NCS The result of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi.

48. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 18th Septmeber, writes:- The Turkish Victory has been the result of the work accomplished by the Muhammadans unde the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The Punjab problem remains to be solved, but the place for it is not England. It should be done in the Punjab itself. Where is the comparison between those Punjabis

who had crawled on their stomachs at the command of General Dyer, and the Akali Siks who not only went into jails by thousands, but refused to leave their posts, even receiving lathi blows, and losing their consciousness(as a result of them)? If we recognize the wide difference between the two, we shall be able to understand the great potency of the exhortaion of Mahatma Gandhi. In spite of their agony, the Akalis would not have recourse to violence as a retaiatory measure. They obseved non-violence with a grim determination. Is not the Pubjab problem solved in the Pubjab alone? The od timidity and the want of courage have yielded place to boldness and self-control. The Punjan authorities have had to suspend the use of their physical force . . . . . .

SER — Is this too!

49. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 16th September, refers to the news communicated by the Special correspondent of the STATESMAN to the effect that several additonal facilities are now afforded to the civil service officers, and says that nothing can be more unjust if this is true. It observes that much of India's money will be expended as a result of this measure, though nothing is done to this country to develop its self-governing powers. It is doubtful whether, under such circumstances, the Incheape Retrenchment Committee can do anything for the country.

Eng & Ind — The great benefits which India has derived from the English rule.

51. In its leader under this heading, the NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 18th September, writes:- . . . . . Though the Indians are to thank the English for

infusing the spirit of patriotism in them, they regretfully ask if India should eternally be bound down by the fetters of slavery, and be at the mercy of the arbitrary authorities while the Colonies in the Empire are enjoying independence. The British should change their attitude towards India. The nature of the present times is wonderful. Whereever arbitrariness may be hidden, it is being consumed by contact with the fire of independence.

54. Under this heading, a correspondent to the KISTNAPATIRKA of the 16th September, writes:-

NCS The duty of non-violence.

In just the same propertion as many suffer troubles in these two methods, non-co-operation and SATYAGRAHA, the flames of independence will kindle the hearts of the Indians. Especially when they have forgotten what independence is and have been habiturated to mendicity, this means is the proper one. When the Akalis who had earned a distinction in many a war have been reciting the name of God, shedding their blood, without giving up their undertaking, though the ordinary police officers have been belabouring them with their LATHIS, the hearts of those who have seen orheard about them will not only melt, but flames of fire will rise up in the recesses of our minds. In proportion to our suppressing them (the flames) they spread all over the body, and make it burn. At such a time, however peaceful the people may be they will not be afraid to jump into the field of battle. If, through re igious enthusiasm, the Akalis have retaliated , will we then have the burning which we now have? It would have cooled down already. We must, therefore, have such occasions when we adopted SATYAGRAHA. In whatever corner it may take place, it is very uselful to the country. When it burns and burns, and at last the fire spreads all over the country at

once, what can stand before this wild-fire? It will remove the source of our loss and make the rest holy. That is, if this method is followed, there will be no non-violent(?). rebellions in the country, but the many races among us will patiently put into practice in every country the principle of self-dertermination, and be able to establish a political constitution.

55. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 16th September, reproduces from the VANDE MATARAM of Lahore, the gist of a speech of Swami Sraddhananda in connexion with the Akali movement which contains the remarks;- The Hindus and the Muhammadans have in their hands the ~~xxx~~ sword of non-violence. Befo̶re that sword none can stand. This is the fist stage of the war of peace. If this war develops with full severity, it will be impossible for the bureaucracy to encounter it.

Comml. Swami Sraddhananda.

59. In its leader under this heading, the NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 21st September, writes:- It is gratifying that the Government of India is trying to recruit Indians for appointments in the army, but it is regrettable that the British Ministry alone does not sympathise withit. It is natural that the British die hards, who think of turning the wheel of the Government by ever keeping the people of the Empire under thier thumb, may show such an unfavourable attitude. As the reorganization of the whole army is under contemplation they fear, perhaps, that the arbitrary rule of the Empire will be affected.

The secret of the army of India.

The utility of the Indian army consists in these--that it is ready to defend the British Empire at all times and on all occasions, and that it tends to make the Indians impotent. As the people of this country are not largely recruited to the army and as the Indian soldiers who are not inferior to the Britishers either in physical strength or mental powe, are not given higher appointments, the former prowess of the Indians is gradually waning. The rulers of the British Empire may consider what good will accrue to the Empire, if the Indians are deprived of theri abilities and made into corpses. It maybe true that a vast army is required to control the tribes onthe frontier, but is there no other way of pacifying them than by inflicting punishments? Will the question of the frontier be solved by merely conquering and occupying Waziestan? Why should they not be taught the methods of modern civiliztio , instead of the demolition of mosques by throwing bombs over them? Could their conditon be bettered by hurling the implements of war at them? Why are aeroplanes and bombs used, if the idea is not to gradually destroy the tribes on the frontier? The murderous engines which come from the aeroplane factories may be useful merely to keep under subjection the weak population of countries like India and Mesopotamia. If only one-tenth of the money expended on theappliances of war had been utilized for the introduction of industries useful to the people, the atrocites committed by them would have ceased to recur, and a way of p ace would have been opened? Why do the British Ministry and the Government of India not follow this path? They perhaps fear that, if they do so, thee may have to effect changes in the Government of India.

61. Commenting on the speech delivered by Lord Rading at the time of the opening of the recent session of the Indian Legislative Assembly, in its leaer, the TRILINGA, of the 9th September (received on the 26th September), observes:-

MR His Excellency the Viceroy's speech.

When dealing with geneal questions great men will discuss both sides of such matters, and strengthen their own positon by adducing (cogent) arguments in their favour. But our Viceroy was silent in regard to the points on whichthe people had anxiously expected him to speak. In some other matters, even though he had a very good opportunity to justify the deeds of the authorities,he let it slip by. Of course, even at the very beginning, he has spoken about the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, but then there is not a word in his address about the boycott of its festivities by the people or about the object lesson which it has taught to the authorities. Nor did he say anything about the amount of money which had been expended therefor, and the return our country received from it. What are the reasons for this silence? If Lord Reading should completely discuss about these questions, it will certainly bring into disrepute the British Imperial authorities, and more especially Mr. Lloyd George. That being so, how can the Viceroy, whois after all subordinate to these people, enter into a discussion about such affairs? If he does so, perhaps he may be asked to go away in the same manner as Mr. Montagu was asked to go. But the people long ago learnt that the British Government was the greatest enemy which stood in the way of the fulfilment of the Turkish aims. Is it

not due to the Turkish success that they are now again thinking of a change in the terms of the Treaty of Sevres? If Tukey had suffered defeat in this war, we could easily imagine what would have happened (to her). . . . Such bureaucratic rule, such repression of the people, and such imprisonment of the patriots as as have taken place during the time of the present Legislative Councils, did not take place during any other period. Blame was thrown on the Indians that they had huddled many Europeans in a small room and killed them through suffocation. But when, in this twentieth centry, and in the regime of the citilzed British Government, 60 Mappillas of Malabar had been killed by being thrown in a railway wagon without any windows like beings worse than chattel, and by being denied air and water even though they had shouted for them, did any other Legislative Assembly before this try to justify such actions by saying that it was the result of a simple mistake, and that the military officers were no responsible for it? Is it not queer that the Viceroy kept silent even when the Gurkha police had unjustly tormented the non-violent Akali Sikhs by beating and kicking them and by pulling the hair of the head and chins, and throwing them away into water ponds?

The Akali struggle.

62. In its 'news', column, in the TRILINGA, of the 9th September (received on the 26th September), reference has been made to the present Akali movement. The following remarks are from it:- Hundred Akalis per day are becoming the victims of the ar bitrariness of the authorities. As a result of the

violent behaviour of the police, many have received severe wounds and are lying in hispitals. But the movement is waxing strong day by day. . . . . . Though Mr. Malaviya and the other Congress members are present on the scene, the violence of the police has not abated even a little. Mr. Malaviya has seen with his own eyes the SATYAGRAHA of the Akalis. So long as the Pandit is there, it is said that the police keep quiet, but the moment he is away, it appears they would again kick, beat and throw the Akalis ~~Readx~~ in water, and commit many such outrages. Is it righteous on the part of Lord Reading who says that he has come here to rightly administer justice and DHARMA to keep quiet when such inhuman acts are perpetrated?

Commul. The Akalis.

The MALAYALI, of the 18th September, writes:- Gurukabagh has now become a sencond Kurukshetra (the great epic battle field of India) the struggle is between the barabarities of the Government on the one side and the righteousness and the valour of the Akalis on the other, and thei weapon is non-violent SATYAGRAHA . . . . . . The events that now happen at Gurukabagh even outbeat the Punjab. If the police can, without any reason whatever, cause bodily injury to respectable citizens like Council Members and professors and persecute them, it is no exaggeration to say that India is the domain of the brutall police. A European Magistrate was audacious enough to reproach Malaviyajee, who is held in such high esteem by all. The mean mentality of some Europeans that makes them look upon Indians as insignificant creatures who maybe treated in any way they please, has in the Akali struggle become as clear as moonlight. The struggle between the Akalis and the head of the mutt is

purelya religious matter. The British Government which has declared religious neutrality has now joined the head of the mutt and is out to persecute the Akalis.. . . . All those that have any trace of humanity in them will admit that the stationing of the police at Gurukabagh and the persecution of the non-violent Akali that seek an entry there, is a most terrible and Hunih affair, inasmuch as even the Government have admitted that the dispute between the committee and the head of the mutt should be settled in a Civil court. Any man can easily understand that the Government are having recourse to such repression solely on the ground that the Akalis are non-co-operators. The Akali agitation is an object lesson to Indians. They have taught Indians that Mahatma Gandhi's SATYAGRAHA is practicable. Mahatam Gandhi in jail cannot but rejoice when he sees the warlike Sikhs, not caring at all for police persecution and with no thought of revenge rush towards batons and machine guns If the Government should, in the name of law and order, continue repression, SATYAGRAHA alone is the proper remedy.

Writing on the same subject, the SWARAT, of the 15th September, points out that the recent proclamation of the Government allowing Akalis to use the public road adjacent to Gurukabagh, clearly shows that the Government with all its strength and weapons have begun to lose in the struggle with the Akalis-valiant Sikhs fighting without weapons- and thinks that neither the arrest of Swami Sraddhananda who called upon the Sikhs to fight with the weapon of non-violence nor the insults to Malaviya nor the cruel persecutions of the Akalis has brought the

least success to the Government but that each of these has ended in a signal defeat to the Government. The paper states that all the people in the land are reproaching the policy of the Government and eulogising the Akalis, and that SATYGRAHA is the only remedy for the obstinacy on the part of the Government, regrets that the Government have not realized that it is high time to give up repression, and observes that the Akalis will surely meet with success, as they are conducting the struggle strictly following SATYAGRAHA.

Con

63. Under this heading, the TRILINGA, of the 23rd September, writes:- Since the days of the Bardoli resolution, no stiir is visible (among the people) in the country. No doubt, a change has taken place in the methods of political agitation, but the country appears to be quite lifeless. If the authorities had conducted their administration in accordance with DHARMA, Mr. Gandhi would not have fought for SWARAJ with so much zeal- - - - - - . . . But it is a matter known to us all that, unless we bring pressure to bear upon the Government, our wishes cannot be fulfilled. We also know that we cannot defet the Government by means of brute-force. Such being the case, non-co-operation is our only refuge. No other course suggests itself to those who have admitted that Reforms cannot be obtained by pleasing the Government. So, it is clear that the whole difference of opinion lies only in regard to the various items of its programme. The last resort is certainly mass-civil-disobedience, that is, the refusal to pay taxes; and this point also is universally admitted. If the state of the whole

The Congress programme.

country is now favourable ti embark upon it, then it is the duty of the people to refuse to pay the taxes-. . . . . But is must be then said that, unless we enter the Legislative Councils, there cannot be any change in the methods of the Government. Many are of opinion that the entry into the Legislative Councils alone will be of some help to us. We cannot be condiered to have rejected the non-co-operation programme, merely because we stand as candidates to the Legislative Councils. The argument that the entry into the councils is opposed to the non-co-operation creed has no force int it. If we follow the items of the constructive programme with greater vigour tha now, and if, side by side with it, we send the nationalists to the councils in large numbers, we will not only strengthen our movement but will also be able to compel the suthorities in some masure to do certain acts which will conduce to the wel fare of the people. Moreover, it is our duty to prepare the country for the adoption of mass-civil-disobedience.

65. Under this heading, the HITAKARINI, of the 18th September,

Commul. The sacrifice of the Akalis. writes:- A war is now taking place between the soul-force of the A kalis on the one side and the force of arms of the Punjan Government on the other. The land of the Panchalas which had become wet with blood in 1919 has not yet completely dried up. Nevertheless, so soon are the weapons of the authorities athirst for blood. Purlely by reason of their religious fervour, the Akalis hae resolved to protect their onw DHARMA; but they never wish to acquire territories. The intelligent world has understood that, though the Akalis have subjected

themselves to all kinds of hardhhips, they have not in the least become lukewarm in their religious fervour and that their non-violent SATYAGRAHA is sure to defeat the Government. Like Jallianwallah Bagh, even Gurkabagh has become a symbolic place of pilgrimage on account of the great sacrifice of the Hindus. Those places will remain as a large treatise which will reveal for a thousand years to come the present state of the Indians, and the arbitrariness of the British authorities. How can there be the preservation of peace unde such circumstances?

NB A revolt from within.

68. Referring to the recent attack on the non-Brahman party by Rao Bahadur O- Kandasawami Chetti in its leader, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 23rd September, observes:- Mr. Chetti is of opinion that the different communities are not represented in the Legislative Council in the Ministry. The depressed classes, the Muhammadans, the Christians, the Anglo-Indians and the Brahmans- none of them have any representation. So, he thinks that the other communities except the non-Brahman Hindus suffer much loss. He wants that the Muhammadans and the Christians should be represented in the Ministry. He asks why the Brahmans also should not find a place in it. He believes that neither the Government nor the people gain anything by the absence of a Brahman therein.

The movement of Mr. Gandhi and the views of an American about it.

69. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 25th September, reproduces in Telugu what an American writes in the 'Christian Register' of Bostom on the present Indian

situation. The following remarks occur in the course of that articlele:- Though the people of India are given no education, and arekept in utter darkness about things, dissatisfaction (above the administrative system) has begun to show itself. To put down this unrest, Government had to use the Rowlatt Act, By the enforcement of this law, the rights of the people have been violated during the last four years. The freedom of speech and the freedom of the press have all disappeared. If the Government suspects anyone of entertaining feelings of disaffection against it, he may be arrested without warrant. There will be no jury nor have the accused any right of cross-examination. The inquiry willbe made in CAMERA. The court need not act in the usual way- . . . . . If the history of Indian finance is examined once, it will be clear that India is administered for the profit of the British, and not for the gain of the Indians.

Gurukabagh.

71. In a lengthy contributed article, the KANTHIRAVA, of the 19th September, deploring the events at Gurukabagh proceeds to observe as follows:- It is obvious from this that it is absurd to expect justice from a certain class of officers. If such enormities as these can happen under the very nose of so prominent a jurist as Lord Reading, we cannot help remarking that His Excellency's assurances of justice are ona par with the empty promises of Mr. Lloyd George. It is no wonder that the people now realize that no value can be attached to those soft words. If Indians should win self-government, it can only

by dint of their own ability and never by reliance on the promises of somebody else. As Mr. Malaviya truly observes, every bruise on te backs of the Akalis is a severance of the roots of mutual good-will between India and England. Every hardship which the A kalis have suffered is a step forward in the path of SWARAJ. We are told that the British are our trustees and they appointed officers of this kind just for our good in order to preserve order among ourselves and when these very preservers of the peace stoop to enormities of this kind, what is it that the Government will do? The same as what they did with similar offenders in the past; that is to say, reward them with pensions.

Commul — Gurukabagh.

In an article criticising the action of the Punjab as well as the Imperial Governments in this case, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 25th September, remarks:- In order to save the prestige of the Punjab Government, the Government of India have sought to conceal the fault of the latter and undermined British justice and thus proved themselves enemies as it were of the Empire. This is admittedly most deplorable. Prestige can be maintained only when the faults which are committed, no matter who their author is, are frankly remedied, but they become more culpable when they are sought to be covered by other faults. Their power may help them to escape the punishment they merit through human agency, but they cannot escape the punishment which God will mete out to them.

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 22nd September, in an article in English writes:- "The Government of the Punjab is guilty of

grave political blunder. All over the world, religion is a dangerous sore. Government should never interfere with the religious instincts of the people, unless they are cock-sure that a overwhelming majority of people are on thei side. The Indian and other mutinies in the world confirm our statement. It is silly, stupid, barbarous and criminal to interfere eith the traditions of people bigotted and fanatically disposed. . . . . . . The Punjab Government was manifestly wrong in trying to support the Mahant in the name of maintenance of law and order. Law and order should be lawful. Lawless law is no law. The defence of such law does not constitute the protection of that law. The report of the Punjab Government to the Government of India on this question bristles with special pleadings. Lord Meston deserves to be appointed to examine this report and make his recommendations. His advocacy of the extension of Imperial Citizenship to India leads us to think that he is the one servant of the British Government, at least, whose instincts are better than the reason of perverse statesmanship that rules to-day"

The Gurukabagh.

72. Referring to the rmarks of the Government of India on the report of the committee which inquired into the tragedy which led to the suffocation of Mappilla prisoners, the VRITTANTA PATRIKA, of the 21st September, remarks:- The Government of India have arranged to convey their expression of regret over the incident to the relations of the deceased prisoners. It is impossible to fix the responsibility for it on any parti-

MP The Mappilla train tragedy.

cular individual, and it must be conceded that the decision arrived at by the Government of India on this subject is just and impartial.

The Mappilla train tragedy affair.

In the course of an article commenting on the 'most amusing decision' of the Government of India on the Knapp Committee report, a correspondent in the KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 18th September, points out that Messrs. Evans and Hitchcock, both of whom were honoured with titles and who were primarily responsible for the event, were allowed to go scotfree, possibly because the people who died as a result of the tragedy were Indians. Referring to the appointment of Mr. Hitchcock to write an history of the Malabar riots, the same correspondent says that it is absolutely necessary to find out a remedy for cooling the heated brains (for the lunacy) of a Government that has appointed for this purpose an officer who was the head of the police who were chiefly responsible for the riots.

The duty of patriots.

82. In a long article under the heading 'Our duty as patriots' published in the ABHUDAYA, of the 29th August, the writer condemns most severely the shortsightedness, folly and vanity of those Indians who barter their country self-respect and the genius of India to commercially minded westerners, who are out to destroy the country, and points out that the only cause of the downfall of India is the absence of any sense of DHARMA in the minds of these conscienceless people who slave themselves to these western tyrants that destroy their DHARMA. The

article reminds its readers that a man is born to redeem poor Indians from the mouth of these western persecutors who love unrighteousness and to plant the flag of DHARMA, and that that man has reached the jail being subjected to the repression of a foreign misgovernment. It continues: "are we not in fact responsible for the imprisonment of this noble person? Each one of us should remember that if we permit this person to continue in jail suffering mean persecution at the hands of foreigners, a great sin will be on our heads and that it is our bounden duty to find out a remedy as soon as possible". The article concludes with a call to adopt the mantra of KHADDAR.

MP Mappilla reparations.

86. Adverting to a note in the MITAVADI about the imposition of fines of Rs. 5,000 Rs. 10,000 etc, on Mappilla merchants of Manjeri so as to make good the loss of 6½ Lakhs of rupees from the Government Treasury at that place during the riot, the YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 26th August, observes:- In this way and, for the rest, by extra taxation the Government may make good their loss. But the affairs of the people who suffered loss at the hands of the rioters and suffered loss by having had to pay taxes for a period when there was no administration of justice and in various other ways, are in a bad plight indeed. And in this matter no one has any responsibility.

III-LEGISLATION

PRESS The Press Bill.

91. Commenting on His Excellency's speech stating the necessity for the proposed Press Bill, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 19th September, remarks:- We cannot help feeling

surprised at this speech of His Excellency who was at one time the Chief Justice of England. Instead of stating that the Rulers of the Native States required protection from the attacks of the Indian Press, His Excellency could more appropriately have said that every offender--no matter who he is -- whether the King, Emperor himself or the Ruling Chiefs or the Viceroy or Mr. Lloyd George's lieutenants, should be meted out the punishment he deserves and that those who criticise those persons should be protected. If His Excellency were to express himself in these terms, his words would doubtless have been acclaimed by all British statesmen. We deplore the fact that His Excellency lost this splendid opportunity of winning applause.

IV - NATIVE STATES.

PRESS

Protection for Princes.

92. In an article under this heading a correspondent writing in the SAMADARSI, of the 21st September, protests against the proposed legislation for the protection of Indian princes from seditious attacks in the press of British India. He says: "Everybody knows that of late the British Government, which is administering its god-given 'trust' for the good of the world, has been manifesting unprecedented affection for Native States and princes. . . . . . . Those who know the position of 'eminence' given to the press in Native States will easily understand both the propriety and necessity of the proposed legislation in British India. It is a matter of common occurrence in Native States that editors of newspapers are summarily deported and

otherwise punished, without any legal proceedings or opportunity given them for self-defence, for the sole offence of exposing the atrocities of the Government. . . . . . With the passing of the proposed law in British India, the people of Native States will be reduced to mere dummies. The British Government will thus have established its policy of repression in its most terrible form in the Native States. It is not known that in the history of the world kings have at any time enjoyed such a (sacred) 'privilege'. In conclusion the writer points out that the planting and nurturing of autocracy in Native States is the unavoidable duty of the British Government as that it is the only way of maintaining their 'trust' free from molestation, that the chief object in view is to strengthen the bond of alliance between the British Government and the Indian princes, to increase the power of the latter and to control even the breath of their subjects and to cause a rift between British India and the Native States, and that this is the preparation for preventing the coming of SWARAJ at any time-. ."

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 7TH OCTOBER 1922.

NO. 40 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS

II--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) GENERAL

SER The I.C.S. campaign.

4. NEW INDIA, of the 3rd October, observes:- "The Crusaders are busy preparing for the war. In England most of the newspapers are on the side of the Indian Civil Service. They are being carefully instructed by the retired Civilians, Ex-Satraps and anxious parents who see in the march of India to Home Rule a grave menace to the prosperous careers of English youths. Their combined efforts have admirably succeeded; the Premier has spoken, a committee, sitting behind closed doors, has reported, and its proposals for improving the pay, pensions and prosects of the Service have, we imagine, already been sent down to Simla for opinion. What the Government of India intend todo, is, of course not known. . . . . The only reasonable claim which the members of the affected Service can have is to be compensated for loss of prospects, and they are having it with a veneance, thanks to the paternal interest of Viscount Peel. It is impertinent to demand that the I.C.S. should in any way be compensated for the abolition of posts to which they were ordinarily appointed. The public in India and the Central Legislature have to be very vigilant in regard to this question, for any further burden thrown on the Indian tax-payer without reference to the Indian Legislature

would not only be regarded as a sign of impotence of the latter, but would further accentuate the distrust of Indians in the intentions of Great Britain. There are occasions in which Governments have to be prevented from committing blunders; the present case is one such, for if they are not saved from the consequences of their folly, which would inevitably follow, the effect would be deplorable for all concerned".

The Right Hon'ble Mr. Sastri's mission.

5. JUSTICE, of the 3rd October, remarks:- "Even the liberals are finding it difficult now to hope for any beneficial results from Mr. Sastri's mission. . . . Obsessed as they are with the supposed greatness and statesmanship of the Right Hon'ble Sastri, they do not still want it to be confessed that his failure has to a great extent been due to his own faults in presenting the case of India rather than to the innate perversity of the Governments he approached with the mendicant plea for a milk and watery type of equality of citizenship to the Indians settled in their midst. That is why they still call him 'an eminent man', although to all who have watched the costly progress of his peregrinations the fact is as clear as daylight that his 'eminence' consisted solely in betraying the interests of his country for the sake of a cheap measure of personal applause from the race-proud jingoes of the Empire. That we are not wrong in making this statement will be amply borne out by the following passage which we cull from a much-boomed speech he made to the members of the New Zealand Parliament some time ago . . . . . . After remarking

that 'we cannot be proud of the Empire in the same sense in which you are proud of the Empire,' he observed: 'We are glad to belong to it. Many advantages come to us from being in the Empire. But if we cannot be proud of our position in it, we will terminate the connexion and seek our distiny elsewhere, rather than continue where as a matter of deliberate policy disabilities are placed upon us'. Now we ask if it is a proud position for us to occupy in the Empire--allowing freely the whites of the dominions and colonies to immigrate into our midst in any numbers they please, and at the same resolving, for our part, to keep our people. . . . strictly within our own borders, and that too, for no reason other than that of their sin of possessing a complexion a shade or two darker than that of the white citizens of the Empire? For our part, we do not think it is; and hence we say that Mr. Sastri, instead of boldly giving expression to the strong feelings of his people and championing their interests, has, out of sheer cowardice--or, may be, out of his superior regard for the susceptabilities of all others except those of his own countrymen-made himself responsible for a grievous betrayal of the cause with which, in spite of all warnings sounded by us and many others like us, he had been entrusted".

Lord Reading.

6. SWARAJYA, of the 5th October, remarks:- "Lord Reading has now been in India for over twenty months. What has been his record? Has he fulfilled any one of the vague promises which he himself made ? He came out with the word 'justice' on his lips and his most important act has been to pass by

certification a law which denies 'justice' to jounalists who criticise those to whom they owe no allegiance. . . . With all the advantages of experience, of reputation and of diplomatic avility Lord Reading has shown himself no better than the obscure English nobleman, who preceded him, in his inability to shake himself free from the influence of a reactionary system. He has now succumbed so comletely that to-day there is no pretence of racial equality, of justice or of any one of the numerous meaningless clap;traps with which Viceregal eloquence used to be so full in those good old days. Lord Reading has practically abandoned the ideas with which he came. No doubt Alva or Torquemada went with equally liberal sentiments and infinitely greater ability to carry them out. But the circumstances governing the politics of a subject country always transform even the intentions of the best of men who are sent out to govern. The cause of Imperialism is such that even good men who uphold it become changed. This is the Tragedy of Empires. And to-day, exemplifying this, stands the tragic figure of Lord Reading, a modern imitation of the Duke of Alva, only less able and more sentimental".

III-LEGISLATION.

The Indian Princes and the Press Bill.

7. UNITED INDIA AND INDIAN STATES, of the week ending 28th September says:- "We emphatically say that the proposed Bill is not in the best interests of the States. It will act as a clog in the free development of Indian States. By placing Indian princes above criticism from the Press, it removes a wholesome restraint on them against

bad administration. After all the kindest critics of the Indian princes are their own countrymen of the Indian Press. There is not the slightest fear that the Indian Press as a body will do anything to lower the prestige of the Indian State system. There is moreover no evidence of a demand for such protection from the prince. It is our view that this protection--as unreal as it is unnecessary- will introduce the thin end of the wedge of a policy of interference in the internal affairs of the States. Protection on such terms justifies interference We hope the Chamber of Princes will take counsel together on a matter so vital to the future of the Indian State system and decline the offer of the Government with small thanks".

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(c) JAILS.

24. A correspondent of the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 30th September, writes:- The British have written our history of India to suit their own selfish ends. The story of the Black-hole of Calcutta is an instance in point. Be that as it may. In India those who pay taxes are regarded as the children as it were of the ruler. A true ruler is one who looks upon his subjects as members of his own family. A selfish ruler who seeks to keep his people in servitude can never win their true homage. The British rulers do not realize this. It is the duty of fair-minded Indians to bring this fact home to them. Those who overlook it are sure to suffer in the end. Mr. Lloyd

PP Treatment of political prisoners.

George's speech, the fearless criticism that is being hurled at it from all corners of the world, the sending of 25,000 patriots to jail under the guise of 'law and order' in response to their prayer for British constitutional rights and the steady underming of British justice--all this is indicative of the autocratic methods of Lloyd George and his associates.

(k) GENERAL.

NCS The spirit of non-violence

25. Remarking that the spirit of non-violence has spread throughout the country after the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and that the people have demonstrated their patience and self-control on several occasions in spite of the authorites having resorted to repressive measures, the SAMARASABODHINI, of the 14 th September, refers, in its leader from the pen of Mr. E. Suryanarayana Ayyar, to the SATYGRAHA struggle begun for the third time at Muldhipet and the suffering patiently undergone by the Akali Sikhs and concludes that there is sufficient justification for the impression that the fruit of non-violence is ripening.

Eng & Ind European merchants.

26. The SUTANDIRAN, of the 17th September, publishes the third of a series of articles from the pen of a correspondent under the heading 'Short Stories', wherein the following observations find place among others:- European merchants hold it as their principle to plot for the looting of the wealth of a country from the moment they set foot therein. Are they

not responsible for the destruction of the weaving industry of India and for turning Indian weavers into beggars? Did they not press the Government to pass such laws and regulations as were conducive to robbing the labourers of this country of of their income? Was not the great war a token of the greed and loot of the European merchants? Further, the plunder carried on by them by means of their intellectual strength is boundless. For instance, they learn, with the help of the Government and through their agents, that 1,000 tons of ground-nut or cotton will be produced in a year in a particular place. They then honour very much the farmer or the sundry merchant and, by means of the black-sheep of a broker, they make him sign an agreement to supply at a particular place and time far more than the produce of a village. The terms of such agreement will be favourable only to the European merchant. Such merchants alone are indeed honest! Do they not flood the country with articles such as wine, cigarette, tea, opium and coffee which are deleterious to the body and harmful to the community itself, deceive the people by attractive advertisements and rob them of their money?

29. Remarking that the National Congress refused to accept the fundamental principles of the declaration of 1917, which were against democratic methods of administration, the SUKHODAYAM, of the 21st September, observes:- All patriotic and self-respecting persons will support the justice of this action. We were ruling our land for thousands of years. But, in the meanwhile, owing to the decree of fate we lost our fame and powers of self-

NCS — The present situation.

government, became dependent and fell into the pit slavery. We also forgot or soul and the Bharata land. But the wail of Mother Bharata pierced our ears and we woke up. We leannt the prosperity, dignity and history of the ancient days from our leaders. Finding out the differnce between Indian history as written by European historians and as narrated by our leaders, we learnt the great MANTRA OF VANDE MATARAM. Hence, we boycotted the constitution and aims of the SWARAJ 'step by step', which would degrade our country. We thereby raised the dignity of the country and maintained self-confidence and self-respect. And we demonstrated the fact that the tiger, though hungry, would not care to eat grass. But a few persons amongst us accepted, with a queer aim, the ugly declaration of August and the highly defective Act thereunder. Their idea was that, by united agitation in the Legislative Councils and by warnings, prayers and threats, they could cross the steps of SWARAJ soon. But the incorrectness of that idea has been demonstrated by the recent proceedings of the Legislative Assembly and the local Legislative Council. This is the fate of those who give up the substance and pursue the shadow!

The efficacy of non-violent non-co-operation.

30. The SUKHODAYAM, of the 21st September, writes:- The most effective weapon for attaining the powers of SWARAJ from the hands of unwilling kings and of the bureaucracy which does not give in, is but non-violent non-co-operation. If Indians realize the principles underlying the non-co-operation movement and follow the tachings of Mr. Gandhi to the letter, the curse of India and her slavery, poverty and ignorance will disappear

and her wisdom, wealth, trade and industries will increase and the foreign powers will bow to her. Till now the Government paid no heed to public opinion. Eating sumptuously, indulging in pleasures, spending the money of the Indian tax-payer as they pleased and living for half the year on the plains and the other half on the hills, they were conducting an irresponsible system of administration. But the movement of Mr. Gandhi has altered it all. Both the Viceroy and the Governors read Indian papers and tremble at Indian agitation. The time is long past when people were afraid of the authorities, their instruments of power and prisons. Courage in place of fear, self-determination in place of slave menatality and strict warning and boycott in place of begging and petitioning have dawned. The attitude of the people has turned from servility to the path of liberty. The mentality of the Government has changed from indifferent contempt to fear and anxiety in the case of the Indians. A momentous struggle has arisen between the Government and the Congress, which is the visible embodiment of the public. Till now the Government fought from behind the Legislative Council. But now they have to fight, directly facing the people. The time has arrived when value has to be attached to public opinion. This is the dawn of democracy. Hence, the way to victoryis the pursuit of non-violent non-co-operation.

SER Indianization of the services.

31. Referring to the opinion said to have been expressed by the Bengal Mahajana Sabah in reply to a circular of the Retrenchment Committee in that province on this question, that

the agitation for the Indianization of the sevices will grow weak if the Indians claim to be paid on the same scale as the Europeans, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th September, characterizes it as one pregnant with meaning and pointing again to the stress laid by the aforesaid sabha on the importance of increasing the salaries of the soubordinate officials, observes:- But our bureaucrats have increased the payof the higher officials and left the lower officials in the lurch. They feel the financial stringency only when they come to the lower officials. Even if the bureaucrats are inclined this ay, at least the representative memebers of the Legislative Council occupying posts such as those of Ministers can accept lower salaries and thereby prove the advantage of indianizing the services. Unfortunately it is they that were very anxious tohave equal pay with the Members of Council; but they now cry that there is no money for the expenses of their departments.

SER The Colonials in the Indian service.

34. Referring to the question of Mr. N. M. Joshi in the Legislative Assembly about the number of Colonials in services under the Government of India, the DRAVIDAN, of the 25th September, observes:- The Colonials have been causing suffering to the Indians for many years without according them equal treatment. The efforts and prayers of the latter have not helped them to get their legitimate demands satisfied in the colonies. Our countrymen urge that we should pay the Colonials in India in their own coin and, when public opinion is so strong on this point, is it not the duty of the Government to reply to the above question? The Government have stated

that the reply to that question was not ready and that they were not prepared to get it ready, as it would entail great work and expenditure. Lord Reading has often expressed that he is bent upon following 'justice' at all times. How far is the above-mentioned answer of the Government, which is administered by him, just?

35. Commenting on the observations in the address of Mr. O. Kandaswami Chettiyar at the Adi-Dravida Congress at Chidambaram with regard to the work of the non-Brahman movement, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th September, says:- Mr. Chettiyar has tried to prove by quoting instances that the leaders of the non-Brahman movement have done no constructive work but only created a spirit of hatred between the Non-Brahmans and the Brahmans and got the powers in their hands. We opined at the time this movement was started and those engaged in it began to work against the nationalist party as regards the Reforms, that the leaders thereof, would fail to form a party but would only help the bureaucrats. Mr. Kandaswami Chettiyar says that the very thing has happened. We cannot agree with Mr. Chettiyar in his views regarding the measures to be adopted for the elevation of the Adi-Dravidas. His proposal that all communities should be represented in the Ministry will not level down the existing differences but on the other hand aggravate them. The only remedy that suggests itself to us is that all non-Brahmans should join the Congress as it has a political ideal. They will then become one party and cannot but work for the welfare of the public.

The Adi- Dravidas.

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Referring to the Adi-Dravida Congress which was held recently at Chidambaram, the SUKHODAYAM, of the 28th September, observes:- The slavery of the Adi-Dravidas will not disappear until that of India also disappears and no forefgn Government can uplift the condition of the former, by themselves; nor can these Adi-Dravidas attain any considerable progress merely by their getting seats in the Legislative Councils, local boards and municipalities. The Indian National Congress is labouring hard for getting rid of the slavery of the land. There is not the slightest error in the statement of Mr. Chettiyar that the Government and the non-Brahmans have forsaken the Adi-Dravidas. Hence, if the Adi-Dravidas join the Congress and co-operate therewith to remove the servility of India, the evil of 'untouchability' will surely disappear from the country.

MR Diarchy.

37. Reamrking that, though the administration of certain departments has been, under the present diarchic system, transferred to the Ministers, they have no control whatsoever over the officials of the Imperial Service who are employed in those deartments and that, in case the status or dignity of the latter is likely to be affected by any act which the former wish to do in the interests of the people, they throw obstacles in the way of its fulfilment, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th Septmber, refers to Lord Morley, as the Secretary of State for India, having sent an order to the Government of India in 1907 that the practice in England of appointing distincguished doctors as honorary officials of hospitals should ne followed in India also and to the Local Government having acted upon

that order and appointed two Indians as honorary surgeons of two hospitals in Madras and stating how this caused great fear and anxiety to the European officials of the Indian Medical Service about their proppects and how these persons approached high officials and caused the system to be dropped as being not of any benefit, points to no stepts having been taken in this direction, in spite of the Minister for Local Self Government having promised 18 months ago to give that system a trial again and concludes therefrom that the officals should have stood in the way thereof.

38. The SUKHODAYAM, of the 28th September, publishes the first portion of a political drama entitiled 'The imprisonment of the Mahatma or the victory of non-violence, in which the following matter finds place:-

A political drama.

SCENE I

LORD CURZON.-- I know India well. The Indians are a peculiar race. If the authorities are allowed to be attacked by any one, the Indians will think that the former are powerless and that ruin has befallen the Government. Hence, Mr. Gandhi who attacks our system of administration incessantly should be curbed immediately. We put down the noisy agitation of the educated Indians here and there by granting certain people amongst them posts, titles and honorary offices and were conducting our administration well. But the agitation carried on by Mr. Gandhi is very dangerous, as he instils political knowledge into the minds of the public and has marred their peace and

contemtment. He has raised their positon to that of a jury. It is this that is dangerous to us. The agitation of English-educated people can be crushed by adopting the mens suited to the times. But if the public wake up, we shall have to surrender to them. Gandhi should, therefore, be imprisoned immediately.

LORD BIRKINHEAD--I can put down the Indian agitation in two seconds. If a handful of persons among the leades are clapped in jail, the unity among the people will disapper in a moment.

MONTAGU--We cannot exactly say so. For, the party-quarrels are going down and a spirit of fraternity is growing. And it looks as if the policy of 'divide and rule' will not avail in future. It is only the modeates and the 'Justice' party of Madras that speak in favour of the Government. The majority of the members of the Legislative Councils are not popular representatives. Many among them have become members of these councils for the travelling allowance and the emoluments they expect by getting into committees and for securing posts under Government for their relations. Mr. Gandhi has gained a tremendous influence. Hence, he should be apprehended, though the moderates in India are not for such a step being taken. If we alienate the moderates also, the British rule may be endangered.

Lloyd George--Will our administrationand dignity be impaired on account of Gandhi?

MONTAGU-- If he is allowed to pursue his own course of action, such result will surely happen.

GEORGE--If so, he should immediately be restrained.

MONTAGU--But, should not the Indians belonging to the party of Government agree to that?

CHURCHILL--If the members of the Legislature are patted on the back, two or three committees are appointed and the leading men among moderates, the members of the Legislature and the Muhammadans are ma e members of such committees, they will join us. The Legislative Council is but a trade now!

CUZON--Hopes may be held out to a few people that the Government intend to appoint some more persons to high posts.

GEORGE--The onl, proper course is to follow the suggestions of Curzon and Churchill. There should be no hindrance to our trade. Do the Indian fellows ask for liberty? Well. My only answer is to imprison Gandhi. Montagu, take the steps necessary herefor.

SCENE II

(CONVERSATION THROUGH CABLE BETWEEN MR. MONTAGU AND LORD READING)

MONTAGU--What is the method of killing non-co-operation?

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READING-- No method strikes me. I am on the one hand afraid of curbing Gandhi and it seems to be again dangerous to leave him free. Shall I resign my appointment?

MONTAGU-- I am also in the same plight. The Cabinet has decided that Gandhi should be arrested.

xxxx
READING-- It is doubtful whethr our xxxxxxxxxx Government will last if Gandhi is arrested. Can the trouble of 1919 be forgotten?

Montagu:- Will you issue ordes for the arrest of Gandhi?

Reading:-I shall do so; but if there is any danger, be prepared to effect a compromise.

Prohibition of the Gandhi day celebrations.

RA 41. Quoting the order of the Sub-Magistrate of Aruppukottai prohibiting the celebrations of the Gandhi day in that place, the TAMIL NADU, of the 1st October, observes under the initial V :- Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Reading who are occupying emeinent positons are carrying on a blind darbar. While such is the case with the bigger deities, are any words necessary about the acts of the monor ones? Those who read the aforesaid order of prohibition will clearly understand the political knowledge of these authorities. Should not the monor deities excel the bigger ones in their acts? The Government have not yet declared the putting up of flags to be illegal. While such is the case, the action of the authorities of Aruppukottai is noteworthy. It appears that these authorities possess the capacity for holding offices in countries like Mesoporamia, Smyrana and Ireland where there are rebellions. But what will those tigers do at Aruppukottai where good men are living? They are but eating grass.

Sir William Vincent.

42. Remarking that Sir William Vincent is as egotistic as Arjuna, the TAMIL NADU, of the 1st October, observes in the course of its leader under the superscription (Varadarajulu) and the subscription (V):- The world knows that the bureaucracy of which Sir William is a member are far advanced in egotism and

self-praise. It is only this band of people that was characterized in eulogistic terms by Mr. Lloyd George as the 'steel frame'. It is the nature of this band to indulge in vain-glory as soon as the passage to India falls into its hands. Time was when Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, who was aware of this fact, advised it not to be proud. As officials like Vincent act in England under the control of the Parliament, there is absolutely no complaint against them. But the case is different in India. The people have no such liberty in this country. The authroitities act according to their will and pleasure and create laws for themselves. This band therefore enjoys boundless-irresponsible--power. And Sir William enjoys still greater powers. He is very clever; and all Governors and the Viceroy are under his thumb. We can boldly assert that he is arrogant both in words and actions. He is now going to retire ona pension and all persons may feel that the evil star that was afflicting India has left her. But it cannot be said that it has left her altogether, as he is to be a member of the India Council in London and there will, therefore, be several occasions for his mischievous acts. He has no esteem or love for Indians and has the preponderating idea that God created the whites only to rule the Indians. Though Lord Chelmsford was a soldier, he was like a puppet in his hands. After the advent of the Montagu Reforms and of Lord Reading as the new Viceroy, certain persons were ~~ex~~ expecting that his mischievous acts would cease. But even that ended in smoke. It is the innate characteristic of the moderates to support any policy of the Government whatsoever. Hence no one need be sorry at the members of the Legislature having given him a farewell dinner. But all persons may feel sorry in respect of one thing. The moderates are in despair as to

who will herafter give a slap on one cheek and throw dry bones with one hand, now that Vincent is going away. But, we can offer this word of encouragement at least to them. They need not entertain any such fear; for, there will be no dearth of such persons until SWARAJ is obtained, as there are many like Vincent under the Government.

PARTIES

The position of the moderates.

43. Reamrking that it is not surprised at Lord Reading having, by the exercise of the special powers vested in him under the Reforms Act, introduced the new Press Bill in the Council of State, the NAVASAKTI, of the 29th September, observes:- It will be ignorance to blame the Viceroy for this act as the Reforms act irself has been so framed. It is for this very reason that we have been proclaiming that no benefit will result from the Reforms. Nevertheless, the moderates have not yet got rid of the glamour of these Reforms. Now that this Bill has been passed by the Council of State, we pity you, O moderates! What regard have the members of this Council paid to your initial rejection of the Bill, though they are your own countrymen and are also moderates like you? If you are men of self-respect, will you resign your posts immediately? The resolution brought forward in the Legislative Assembly for the punishment of the high officials who were responsible for the death of Mappilla prisoners in train, was defeated. It is needle for us to question the nenefit tha can be derived from this Assembly which does not consent to punishe people whom they have known tobe the culprits. But, we cannot refrain from condemning the act of the 'honourable' Indian members, who are however devod of self-respect, in haging quietly pocketed the

the vituperative language employed by Sir William Vincent against some of them. It is a well-known fact that Sir William has, for some time past, been follwing the practice of reviling people when he knows that he will be defeated in a discussion. But, there is no use blaimg him. We are sorry only about the Indian members who do not reprimand him on such occasions.

45. Upholding the boycott of the Legislative Councils, in its leader, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 26th September, writes:-

NCS The boycott of the Legislative Councils.

. . . . The bureaucracy is roaming at large in its groves wihout meeting with any obstruction. The responsibility for highhanded behaviour is none the less ascribed to the members of the Legislative Councils also. While the moderates themselves are afraid of shouldering this responsibility, should the non-coroperators also enter the Legislative Councils to bear it? If the non-co-operators who have escaped that humiliation and are moving freely are again to enter that well, it will be easy to imagine what a source of misfortune it will be. . . . . . .

47. Referring to Mr. Curtis' tour in America and to his preaching of the principle of self-determination, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 28th September, observes:- Did Mr. Curtis preach this principle also to the British Government? Did he ask them to extend it to India? Does he not know that the Montford Scheme of Reforms is opposed to the principle o self-

AI Mr. Curtis.

determination? Perhaps, he has adopted this method to create an impression in other countries about the large-heartedness of Great Britain. . . . . . Mr. Curtis said that England was now trying to conquer India spiritually. Perhaps, he thinks that conquering spiritually means the granting of independence If this is Mr. Curtis' meaning, it is really far from the truth. There are no visible signs at all of the grant of independence or the concession of the principle of self-determination to India. . . . . .

Comml. The Akalis movement and the Gurakabad troubles.

48. Referring to the behaviour of the police during the recent troubles at Gurakabad, the ANDHRAVANI, of the 17th September (Received on 28th September 1922), writes:- . . . . . The police directed their LATHIS against the Akalis. They struck them on their haeads, hands, legs and backs, just as they pleased. Some were dragged along the ground and throwninto the water. Some were stripped of their clothing, knocked down and kicked. But they did not move at all. Nor did they raise their hands even for self-defence. They had resolved to observe non-violence, and so they went on singing divine songs. For full seven minutes, the blows had continued and a hundred persons fell down senseless. The doctors who had followed these people removed them at once to Amritsar. Four of these men are now in a preacarious state. The rest have received very severe blows. . . . . . On the morning of the 4th, another batch started. The police fell upon these heroes also with their LATHIS. They beat them heavily. Those who had fallen down senseless were dragged by the hair and thrown into the tanks. Such as had attempted to sit up were given a beating

with the butt-end of their rifles. . . . . After Mr. Malavya who has come to visit the scene left the place, once again the police began to beat the pesons who sat down. Even those who had been thrown into the water were again given a sound beating, and those people too, who were merely witnessing the whole thing, did not escape the blows of the police.. ...

Gurakabad news.

49. Under this heading, the ANDHRAVANI, of the 17th September, writes:- When the Akalis were going in groups of five to the garden at Gurakabad, the ~~Gxkaba~~ Gurakabad, the Gurka police under the leadership of Mr. Lobson, the Superintendent of Police, gave them a sound beating. If the persons who had fallen down unconscious attempted to get up, they were again beaten. Thus, they beat them several times. . . . The spectacles and the money-purse of Mr. Thora Singh were lost. Mr. Mohan Singh was pushed out and many respectable genlemen were dishonoured. As they drove out the Akalis, the police took away the money purses, the ear-rings and other vauables of many people. Mr. Malavya came there again in the evening. He had gone just four furlongs, when at 8 o'clock, there police dragged the Akalis and thrashed them . They were thrown into pits. Mr. Rampal was sorrounded and four blows were dealt on him. When Mr. Ruchiram had called out for Mr. Betti, four policemen raised their sticks to beat them....

NCS The non-co-operators.

53. In a note under this heading, the BALABHARATI, of the 22nd September, writes:- . . . Though the relinquishment of

titles and the boycott of offices and courts are not so successful as they were expected to be, there is not the last doubt that the respect of the masses for them has completly did out. It is the boycott of the Legislative Councils that has been the main cause of the awakening of the masses. It is clear that the enrolment of memebers for the Congress, the collection of money for the Congress fund, the distribution of spinning-wheels and the KHADDAR propaganda have not been discouraging. The Government accounts themselves prove how the anti-drink campaign did its work last year. The readers could impartially decide for themselves whether the result of the fact that 25,000 patriots were able to unexpectedlyenter jails at the end of last year, even before favourable circumstances had set in, was encouraging or discouraging.

57. Under this heading, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 23rd September, has a note to the following effect:- Obstructing

NCS Bardoli-Gurukabagh.

the Akali Sikhs from going to Gurukabagh and belabouring them have ceased. Beating with LATHIS whose who go to the garden attached to Gurukabagh, till they fall unconscious, has also been stopped. The obstruction to the food taken to the Sikh kolunyxxxdxinxMutakabaxhxhsx volunteers in Gurukabggh has also been put an end to. But the movement has not ceased to exist. Instead of beating the Sikhs, the police have begun to arrest them. Those who are prepared to sacrifice even their lives will not fear to go to jails. They are patiently going to jails at the rate of twenty a day. It appears that a lakh of persons have contemplated to go to jail. What Mahatma Gandhi

thought of beginning at Bardoli is being accomplished by the Sikhs at Gurukabagh.

NCS The Mahatma.

58. Under this heading, the CONGRESS, of the 18th September, writes:- This day is the birthday of God Gandhi who became incarnate in India to destroy unrighteousness with the weapon of his soul-force and establish righteousness. It is to-day that, while the Government which following wicked methods, worshipping money and brute-force and seeking refuge in murderous weapons took a vow to reduce the thirty-three crores of Indians to servitude, forcibly arrested the Mahatma, adjudged him to be guilty and treacherous and imprisoned him for six years, the whole mankind was surprised at the want of statesmanship and the presence of cruelty in the English Government, and being stunned, put its finger before its nose. It is indeed when the godly are obstructed that their wonderful greatness is well exhibited before the world. It is due to the soul-force of the Mahatma that the Akalis are showing self-control, reciting the MANTRA of non-violence, though they have been receiving kxx brutal blows, and blood has been flowing from their bodies in streams. What greater triumph could the Mahatma have achieved than this? It is due to the preachings of the Mahatma that, while the greedy Tata Company, without considering that they have been doing injustice to the poor ryots and without respecting even public opinion, have ventured to inundate seventy villages and deprive thousands of families of their habitations, the people of Mahrashtra have(shown the way to success) followed SATYGRAHA and, reciting

the name of the Mahatma, have shown the way to success. What greater triumph can the Mahatma have, one who has established peace in India on the firm foundation of the Hindu-Muslim unity than the proclamation of the Amir of Afghanistan? How praiseworthy of the Amir who has interdicted cow-slaughter, made proper regulations for the safety of the Indian women and without creating obstacles to the freedom of Hinduism, has afforded equal facilities for both the Hindus and the Muhammadans! Is it not the result of the affectionate help of the Mahatma that Kemal Pasha, who began his movement with three followers, has gained unbroken influence all ober the country and notwithsanding the fact, that the English Government, which is puffed up with pride that it is very strong, was secretly rendering help to the enemies, chased them (the opponents of the Turks), drove the Greeks from Smyrna and gaoined a complete victory! While the Civil Disobedience Committee have been considering whether the people should embark on civil disobedience or not, the officers of the Government, as if possessed by an ebil spirit, have restrained the Akalis, beat them, plucked the tufts of their haxx hair and began to trouble them in order to swallow up their rights. The Akalis have adopted SATYGRAHA, disobeyed the improper orders of the Government officers, received deadly blows, proclaimed in a thousand voices the triumph of non-violence, removed the discouragement of the people and published to the world the value of the preachings of the Mahatma. Are not these the signs of victory? There is not the least doubt that, after the Mahatma's incarceration, his service has begun to b ar fruit. But the Punjab problem has

not as yet been solved. The injustice of the KHILAFAT has not been removed. SWARAJ has not been attained. Unless the people show singleness of purpose and greater sacrifice, it is impossible that these three questions will satisfactorily be solved.

COMM1. The Hindu-Muslim unity and its unbroken success.

59. Under this heading, the CONGRESS, of the 18th Septmber, makes the remark that the proclamation of the Amir of Afghanistan clearly proves the unequalled success of Gandhi who has sacrificed himself in order to effect the reconstruction of the world on peaceful lines and the horrible defeat of those who hang on the political policyof 'divide and rule'.

The way of the foolish.

60. Under this heading, the CONGRESS, of the 18th Septmber, reproduces from 'Bhartruhari' a stanza which is to the following effect:- We were about to roll as a bangle the serpent of the bureaucracy, which is horrible through the flames of the fire of poison. But we have not been able to turn the mond of our moderate brethren. This is very much to be regretted. Just as Sisupala and Jarasandha could not know God Sri Krishna and quarrelled with hi, the moderates are not able to know our Mahatma Gandhi. . . . . . . The Mahatma is a bod man, an ascetic the only person worthy of worship by the three worlds, a man who has renounced his self and is devoted to doing good to others. All the rest are cowardly men, who indulge in luxury and are despised by the world, and they are slefish and envious. Instead of following the advice of the Mahatma, they shrink from trouble,

yield to luxuries, desire lucrative posts, forget patriotism, abhor the counsel of the good and simk and float (in the sea of) their own methods. Can we suppose that they are ignorant of the true significance of their own party and of the opposite party? Is it even in the power of God to instruct a man who knows, but pretends ignorance? . . . . . . Should regard be paid to the words of the Mahatma who has been imprisoned, or the words of those who spend the money of the Indians, who are tormented by the goddess of poverty, and who, touring in foreign countires, exhibit their useless oratory? Again, with whom is the co-operation that they talk loudly about? Is it with those who have confidence in us, or with those who have not? Is it with those who listen to our words, or with those who do not? If there are those who place confidence in us and hear our words, there will be no non-co-operation at all. Non-co-operation came into existence on the day when the Rowlatt Act had been enacted, in the face of the unanimous opposition of the r epresentatives of the people in the Imperial Legislative Council, and on the day when the English lords praised the demon of Dyer who, without mercy and full of the pride of authoritiy, had shed the blood of the innocent like people's representatives wihout influence,have been reproving them, whenever they got angry with the non-co-operators. Alas! It is such moderates indeed that are denoted by the expression ' a washerman who has become ruined eitherway'. What are the moderates doing, who have persued the speech of Mr. Lloyd George, which has robbed the refoms of their sap? Are the words of the Mahatma true, or are the preachings of these people true? It is the pandits that err. Admit your mistake, express regret

for it, and follow Mahatma Gandhi. Without adopting the policy of the foolish, for fear of ~~lsing~~ leaving prestige, and remembering that it is derogatory to one's honour to remain in the present position and meet with kicks again and again, give up your foolishness. . . . . Is it not derogatory to one's self-respect? It is deplorable! None of us is equal to the Mahatma. How can an ignorant man be equal to the Mahatma? It is improper to hate him. Without changing the creed and following the Mahatma, believe that it is a sinful act to serve a Government which has no confidence (in us). Know that union alone is strength. Do not desire comforts. Give up foolishness and uplift the country! . . . . . . The wicked who have bound Krishna do not exist; but is not Hari (God) present in everything to-day?

Parties

The co-operators.

61. In the course of an article under this heading, the BALABHARATI, of the 22nd September makes, among others, the following observations:- . . . . . They (the co-operators) began to mark time to every tune sung by the authorities. They extended their hearty co-operation to the officials, in all their repressive attempts to extirpate the non-co-operators on the ground that they were a menace to constitutional government and to the peace of the country. They even forfeited the respect of the people, stood behind the authorities, and with them mocked at the non-co-operators, while they had entered jails in thousands for the sake of the country's freedom, and had undergone insults and flogging, in short, all unbearable sufferings at the hands of the officials.. . . . . The central

administration is swallowing up the whole Government revenue; and the military expenditure has, like a demon, reduced the hearts of the members of the Legislative Councils to a heap of ashes. As for their other powers, resolutions are moved and officials oppose them. Of the members present, every one follows his own way. There is no union. There is not the fixed programme of work chracteristic of political parties. How can there be any certainty that the resolutions would be accepted? Of them some have to kk be withdrawn. Of the resolutions accepted after tremendous attempts had been make, some would be vetoed by the Governor or the Governor-General. The rest of them, whichhave to be put into effect, are half-dead and are devoid of importance. After much Government expenditure incurred on account of the sub-committees, the inquiry committees, the advisory boards, and the suggestions and the recommendations of the Legislative Councils, they at last turn out to be useless; and those which would be of great benefit to their members or to the public are rare. . . . . .

COMML The Gurukabagh disturbanee.

62. Referring in a note, under this heading, to the disturbaces at Gurukabagh, the BALA-BHARATI, of the 22nd September, writes:- . . . . . These circumstances remind one of the Amritsar atrocities and the Mappilla tragedy, and even surpass them in some respects.. . . . . Every day heart-rending messages are being received from Mr. Malavya and the press correspondents to the effect that the authorities are using violence against the Akalis, who try to advance peacefully; are beating them with LATHIS till they fall down; are dragging and throwing them

into ditches, are pulling them by the hair, striking them rudely on the face, torturing them in many more strange ways, are insulting them; and are perpetrating many inhuman acts. It cannot but be said that the authorities who are subjecting the persons who work on absolutely peaceful lines to strange tortures have lost their hearts and consciences. The Akalis are not giving up their attempts, nor the authorities their violence. . . . . . Even after all this, no change takes place in the stony heart of the authorities. May evil go down! We trust that these circumstances will be of some help to the members of the Civil Disobedience Committee, who are preparing their report, after observing the conditions, as to whether the country is at present ready to adopt civil disobedience.

The revolt of Mr. O. Kandaswami Chettiyar.

63. Reviewing the proceedings of the Adi-Dravida Conference held at Chidambaram, in a note under this heading, the NYAYA Dipika, of the 28th September, obseves:- It is clearly false, that the non-Brahman movement is based on the union of the Adi-Dravidas and the other non-Brahman Hindus and also that the former have helped the non-Brahman movement. We wish that the Government should treat the depressed classes in the same way as they did during the time of Doctor Nair. It becomes persons like Mr. O. Kandaswami Chettiyar to attack a movement which has greatly cleared up the political atmosphere of our Presidency!

66. Writing in connexion with the general state of affairs in the country and the co-operation now extended by the moderates

in their relations with the Government, the HITAKARINI, of the 25th September (received on the 2nd October), observes:- Having understood the futility of its request in the earlier days of its existence, the Congress has now taken up a manly stand and is resolved to achieve its objects through self-effort. But the rulers have tried to divert its attention by the grant of false reforms. The 'so-called' moderates began to roll the ball; but the country as a whole did not yield to that delusion. Thus, two parties came into existence in the country, mamely the Congressmen and the rulers. In this latter party there is a section which brings shame to the Indian nation- . . . . . . Returning from England, Mr. K. C. Roy has proclaimed the respect which the Government of India commands, and Mr. Wacha has said that 'we are yet children'! If this method of procedure and the results which it may lead to are considered by each of the 'so-called' moderates in his heart of hearts, will he fail to understand that they (the moderates) are good-for-nothing people, cowards, persons without manliness, selfish men and cheats? .... Can they not have the sense to understand that they are helping the ruin of their brothers by joining the side of the rulers? Will they not see that, in some measure at least, they are supporting the foreigners by choosing to join their side? In fact, from the Congress (platform) for forty years these moderates had loudly represented the grievances of the people. That being so, it is madness to say that they do not know the above facts. What then is the reason for this (behaviour on their part)? Can we say that they have no patriotism? It will be a mistake to say so. Is it due to the confidence in the British people? That is nil. May we

Parties. When is the change to come?

say that is through a want of manliness? It is doubtful. The infatuation of slavery has not left them yet. Until that leaves a man, he cannot take the path of freedom and show the stuff he is really made of.

Commul. The Sikh heroes.

71. Referring to the Gurukabagh disturbancess, the MATRUSEVA, of the 22nd September, observes:- The mesages which are being received in regard to the occurrences in the Gurukabagh are heart-rending. Eye-witnesses are describing the broken legs, the crushed heads, the dislocated joints, the injured vital parts and the blood which has freely flowed. Those who would get up to receive blows again though they had fallen down six times after receiving deadly blows, those who were lying in hospital with wounds on both sides and would express their willingness to go again just when those on one side had healed up, are to be seen among these Sikhs. Sir William Vincent spoke in a wonderful manner about the incidents, which has created the rousing of the heart necessary to exhibit such men to the world.

MR Political situation in India.

76. The MANORAMA, of the 15th September, observes with regret that the censure debate in the Legislative Assembly, especially Sir William Vincent's speech, has widened the gulf between the English and Indians. It remarks that the faith of the moderates in the Reforms is definitely shaken. 'Of what use are the Reforms', it asks, 'if the representatives of the people cannot give any independent opinion in administrative

matters, especially in those relating to the Civil Service, and if the voters cannot give their votes independently?' While the modeates are deeply considering over this matter, a strong party ofl non-co-operators are trying to get the Congress programme altered. The paper remarks that if, as the conjoint effect of these forces there should be a union of parties in India, no one need regret it but all may rejoice over it.

The MANORAMA, of the 22nd September, refers to the opinion of a London correspondent that in his ppeech on the Civil Service debate Mr. Lloyd George has only voiced forth the views of Lord Peel, the Secretary of State for India, points out that it is not at all proper to say so, inasmuch as Mr. Lloyd George must be aware that those views are in opposition to the Reforms Act, as he knew all the facts connected with it from its very inception till it was passed into law, and says:- It is not known how this matter will end, if in these circumstances Lord Peel is not forced to resggn or Mr. Lloyd George does not himself resign his Premiership. There is no use making lame excuses. Even moderates will not accept them.

Helpless Mappilla families in the disturbed area.

80. The MUSLIM SAHAKARI, of the 14th September, refers in detail to reports of brutal atrocities committed by Hindu vagabonds on helpless Mappilla women and children in the recently disturbed area--(Ernad and Walluvanad and part of Calicut taluk) the male peopulations of which has either been detained in jails or killed as a result of the riots, and expresses satisfaction in that the Government has now begun to bestow adequate attention to this matter and idignation that the

Hindu section of the press is silent over this matter.

III-LEGISLATION.

85. Expressing surprise at the Viceroy having resolved to intoroduce in the Council of of State the Press Bill for the protection of princes, under the special powers vested inhim by the Reforms Act, in spite of permission having been refused by the Legislative Assembly for the introduction of the same therein, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 26th September, observes:- Though Mrs. Besant says that the Reforms Act is the dorrway of the temple of SWARAJ which has been thrown open to the Indians, it is only nder this Act that the Viceroy is vested with powers of passing laws wihout the consent of the Legislative Assembly. This is the first time Lord Reading has availed himself of the powers thereunder and he has thereby started a very important political issue in that he has not only acted on his own responsibility ignoring the powers of the Assembly but has also ventured to curtail the liberty of the papers in so far as he has orevented proper criticism therein about the defects in the autocratic sway exercised by the princes who are not responsible to the people. It but appears that he has been completely led away by the fuss of autocracy carried on in the land. Hence it is that his knowledge of the law and the regard he should have for political rights have not availed to prevent him from taking this step. It is to be inferred from his statement, that the Government of India should protect the Indian princes so as to prevent others from condemning their autocracy, that the Government have undertaken a

Press — The Press Bill.

responsibility in this matter. Further, they are constantly asserting that they are bound to interfer in case the people are likely to be harassed on account of the mal administration of these princes. It is only in exercise of this responsibility that they have so interfered and also removed certain princes. Such being the case, we are at a loss to understand the object with which they have now blacked an important source through which they can learn the state of the administration by the Indian princes. It is a well-known fact that, even in those States which are said tohave attained great progress, the papers published therein do not enjoy full liberty and many restrictions are placed in regard to the subjects joining to gether and expressing their opinions freely. Hence, it is only the papers published in British India that have been the support of the people of those States. It seems the Viceroy says that those princes should be protected from the attacks of the papers of British India in pursuance of the treaties existing between them and the Government of India. But those who understand the present relationship between the Political Department of the Government of India and the princes will hesitate to believe the new responsibility that is spoken of as existing by means of treaties. Supposing for the sake of argument that such responsibility does exist, will the right of the British subjects for free criticism without transgressing the laws relating to defamationand sedition be cancelled by the said responsibility? And can the Executive Government destroy such right and pass a law according to their wishes? Sir William Vincent stated in the Assembly that the Government of India framed the Bill in question on the model of a similar law existing in England. But he did not note the difference between foreign Governments for the protection of which the English law exists and the Indian States. As the former are entirely responsible to the

subjects thereunder, the British Government intend to protect actually those nations themselves from jounalistic attacks and prevent international quarrels on that account and they do not inted to protect the Kings or the authorities themselves of those countries. It is of course the duty of the British Government to protect the people of another country which is on freindly terms with England from attack. This duty becomes essential in view of the peace of Europe, On the other hand, the peace existing between the Indian States and the Government of India depends upon the suzerainty and the army of the latter Hence there is no ground for saying that that peace will be endangered. Further, the powers of institutions like the Privy Council and the High Courts are sufficent to protect the Indian princes. It is not, therefore, clear to us how the peace and welfare of British India will be impaired by the Act question not being passed, as stated by the Viceroy.

The Press Bill.

The MYSORE STAR, of the 1st October, after reviewing the discussions on the Press Bill in the Indian Legislative Assembly as well as the Council of State, remarks:- It does not seem that this new measure will in any way s'ifle honest criticism of the internal administrtion of the Native States. It is true that it will operate against mischievous writings. But that cannot by any means be regarded as a hardship. There is further the safeguard that action under this measure will be taken only with the approval of the Viceroy and the cases will be tried by the High Court. There is thus no foundation for the fear that the measure will be used as a tool for harassing the press.

Referring to the Press Bill which was going to be introduced in the Legislative Assembly, the MANORAMA, of the 19th September, points out that if such a Bill should be passed into law, the Government of India would be conferring on Indian princes a status which they didi not enjoy at present and that the views on it expressed by Manilal Modi to the Home Member represent public opinion on the subject, and says:- It is not at all becoming on the part of any Government to take away with the left hand the liberty granted with the right hand. It is not even an year since the Press Act of 1910, which unnecessarily suppressed free expression of independent opinion has been repealed. If, in the meantime, a law substantially similar to it is to be passed, it will only greatly help to increase public agitation. We may console ourselves with the belief that the Government will not pass any law which will be opposed to the welfare and progress of the country. If, however, the Government should make any effort in this direction, it is our duty to call upon the representatives of the people in the Indian Legislature to do the needful in the matter.

The Press Bill.

The KERALA KAHALAM, of the 23rd September, writes:- While the cry is heard everywhere that British Indian subjects ae slaves, it is not known any here outside that the subjects of Native States are slaves of slaves. This is because the latter have no freedom to voice it abroad. It characterises the Bill as a device to hush up all criticisms of the high-handed actions perpetrated by the administratiors of Indian States on

the people entrusted to their care, regrets that though the people of British India have been agitating against the Bill, nothing is as yet being done in Indian States, and calls upon the people of those states to do the needful to prevent such legislation coming into force.

The SAMADARSI, of the 23rd September, points out that the repeal of the Press Act did not restore real freedom to the press in British India and that such freedom can come only with the establishment of full responsible government. With the present indefiniteness of the law regarding the causing of disaffection against the Government and its consequent width of extent of application, with a magistracy directlyunder the Executive Government, with the general close-mindedness of European Judges and with the limitation of the powers of the jury--as seen for instance in the Hazarat Mohini's case--the freedom of the press in British India is very partial indeed! The present Bill destroys even this limited freedom. The article refers to the shrewdness of Lord Chelmsford who tried to win the help of the Indian Chiefs at a time when the new awakening ih India presented iself in opposition to the autocracy of the Government of India, and points out how a greater measure of freedom of administration was allowed to the Ruling Chiefs, and how these grateful Chiefs are in return allowing their States to be exploited by Europeans and are spending huge amounts to participate in the Empire Exhibition, the purpose of which is to open out India for further exploitation. Of course in their won states, the press does not stand in the way of their autocracy. But a few conscientious British Indian

papers, which these Rulers cannot win over totheir sóde have been pointing out their misdeeds. But this has becoem intolerable for them. . . . . . As the evil effects of the proposed Bill affect the subjects of Native States far more than it can affect the subjects of British India, the article calls upon the former, especially the people of Travancore and Cochin, to hold public meetings to protest against the proposed legislation.

86. Reverting to this subject and remarking that, though the Duke of Connaught and Lord Chelmsford emphatically asserted on the 9th Febrauary 1921, when the former opened the first session of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, that autocracy had disappeared under the Reforms Act, Lord Reading has demonstrated there-after that such is not the case, the SWADESAMITRAN of the 28th September, observes:- The Press Act, that has recently been repealed by the Legislative Assembly, contained provisions which protected the Indian Princes and their administration from such attacks of papers in British India as cause disaffection towards them. But, the committtee appointed by the Government recommended that that Act was unnecessary and shouldbe repealed. Sir William Vincent and Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru were on that committee. Hence, it cannot be said that it made the said recommendation without realzing the responsibility of the Government of India and this recommendation was made in spite of the representative of the Political Department, which is concerned with the relatinship existing between the Indian Princes and the Government of India, giving evidence before that Committee urging for the retention of the Act as far

The Press Act.

as it related to the Indian Princes. This shows that the members thereof, who realized the responsibilities of the Government of India well, saw clearly that that Act was not needed as far as it related to the Indian Prines and recommended its repeal. Such being the case, it was but proper on the part of the Legislative Assembly to have refused p rmission to the Government of India to revive it wihin a few months of its repeal. Those who sought this permission should have adduced sufficient grounds or proved the new situation that had arisen, which necessitated the retention of that Act. It is not, therefore, proper on the part of the authorities to act in a passion as if they were an irresponsible set of people, when the Legislative Assembly refused the permission authritatively asked for. Now, coming to the action of the Viceroy in exercising the special powers vested in him under the Reforms Act and passing the Bill in question ito law the very next day, on the ground that that Act is necessary in the interests of the peace security or welfare of British India, we do not understand the rationale of the ground adduced and again we do not see how his conscience allowed him to exercise, in favour of Indian Princes a power which can only be utilized on special occasions in respect of British India. The Legislative Assembly refused permission even to introduce a Bill which he wanted to be passed into law. If the Viceroy had not desired to exercise autocratic powers, he might have adopted another course of action. He might have ordered the introduction of that Bill in the Council of State in the ordianry course, seen what procedure was adopted by it and shaped his action in accordance therewith . Even if the Council of State had perhaps thrown out the Bill, the power

he now exercised would still be in his hands, as the Reforms Act allows him to pass a Bill into law under his signature, though it is rejected by both the Houses. If the Council of State had discussed the Bill in the ordinary way and finally accepted it with certain amendments, it could be said that at least one of the Houses supported the aim of the Government. But, as the Viceroy certified the necessity for passing it into law, the Council had to accept it as it stood. The law does not say that they should not amend or reject it; but such Act will be absolutely futile, for the Governor-General possesses the power to pass it into law in the form in which it was presented in the Council. The only thing that is not clear to us is that it did not make him exercise that right. The members of both the Assembly and the Council seem to have become terrified that the Viceroy became enraged at the action of the former body. It is now perfecly clear that the statement that the autocracy of the Government of India has disappeared by means of the powers vested in the Houses is pure fiction. It was indeed improper on the part of Mr. Thompson to have reviled the Legislative Assembly in this connexion. Though Sir William Veincent mildly condemned his words, the members of the Council of State did not sufficiently condemn them and demand an apology from him. It should be knwn, however, whether Mr. Thompson's observations had the approval of Lord Reading. The public will be eagerly expecting a reply to the questions whether the members of the Legislative Assembly will keep quiet at the Viceroy having passed into law, by the exercise of his special powers, a Bill which was rejected by them or

resign their seats in protest.

Remarking that the action of the Viceroy in regard to this Act cannot but be detested by the people, the DRAVIDAN, of the 28th September says:- It is reasonable that the press in British India should be free to criticise the Princes, if they act cruelly. Our press was till now of great help to the subjects of the Native States for remedying their grievances. We are in no way subject to the Indian princes. We criticise the Governments of Japan, Turkey, France, America and other countries and, similarly, we have a right to criticise the administration of the Indian princes also. It is, therefore, cruel on the part of the Government of India to deprive us of this right. It is regrettable that the Viceroy should have acted in this way in spite of his high culture.

The Press Bill: its revival by the Viceroy.

87. Writing in connexion with the grant of a certificate by His Excellency the Viceroy reviving the Press Bill and sending it to the Council of State, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 27th Septmber, observes:- The arbitrary nature of the powers bestowed on the governors and the Governor-General are now clearly manifest to us. Though the well-wishers of the country have shouted at the top of their voice that these arbitrary powers enjoyed by them will only tend to violate the independence of the people and make the Legislative Councils quite useless, the moderate leaders have never paid any heed to those words. From this, it is easy to imagine what highhanded authority is vested in the rulers by the Reform Act. If any

Legislative Council rejects the Bills introduced by the Government, they can be passed with the help of the second chamber. Even of the second chamber should reject them, the Viceroy has got the power to disregard it and make them laws. Will the members of the Legislative Council open their eyes at least now and understand the real nature of the Reforms? There is not much possibility for entertaining even this hope.

Has it been repealed?

88. Referring to the short notices given to the members of the Council with regard to the introduction of the new Press Bill, under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 28th September, observes:- The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi said that the Bill had been before the Council for two days. He seems to think that even two days ins too long a period for consdiering a Bill which involves the violation of the birth-rights of the people! The country need not know anything about this Bill, nor should the people care to inquire about it. The people of the Native States need not pronounce their opinion on it. If the Government resolves to do it, nothing else is necessary! There is the Viceroy to grant a certificate and there is the Council of State to nod its assent. That being so, why should there be any notice even of two days? Any repressive measure can be enacted as a law in two minutes! . . . .

PRESS

The Police Bill.

89. The SWART, of the 22nd September, characterises the Police Bill that has been passed into law in the Legislative Assembly as the sharpest weapon that has till now been forged by the

Government to prevent Indians from working out their political salvation from their present state of slavery, points out that the first object of the Bill is to induce police officers to suppress any feelings of patriotism arising within themselves and to have recourse to any kind of terrible repression twowards their countrymen, and that its second provision is a satanic chain to bind the hands, feet and tongue of the people, thinks that not a few will fall victims to this law and calls upon the readers to judge hwo far the co-operating members who consented to this law are responsible to the people or represent them. The paper adds that the non-co-operators against whom this law is intended to be used will only smile at this measure of repression and that it can diefinitely be asserted that they will not be afraid of it to the slightest extent. The YOGAKSHEMAM of the 23rd September, observes that this law is evidently intended to be used against the non-co-operators.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 14TH OCTOBER, 1922.

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ENGLISH PAPERS

II--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) GENERAL

MR A proposed conference.

2. NEW INDIA, of the 12th October, has the following:- "It is patent to all who know India that, within living memory, there has never been such wide-reaching restlessness and discontent as exist to-day, and also, as the Right Hon'ble

V. S. Srinivasa Sastri said in Simla, such widesprad distrust of Britain's goodwill, and the sincerity of her professed intention to co-operate with India in the establishment of Responsible Government. There is a similar distrust of Indians on the part of Europeans. . . . . It is impossible, in these days of raped communications, that India shall limp on crutches while other nations flash by in their newly won liberties. She is not asking to break away from the British Commonwealth nor to drive out the British; but she is resolute to be mistress in her own household, and to have the British as equal citizens, but no longer as 'guardians', a camouflage for masters.

"India cannot expect Britain to give her freedom; a nation must make tis own. It is for India to frmulate her own constitution, as Australia and Ireland have done. England has done her share, in framing the machinery for India's self-expression in the Act of 1919; it is for India to utilize it, peacefully but with firm determination, so that the two countries may pass out of the strained position of constant friction and mutual suspicion into a firm and enduring friendship, founded on justice and equal freedom.

"We therefore have suggested that a conference shall be held in Delhi, soon after the opening of the next session of the Indian Legislature, of leading men of the various parties who are working under or are willing to work under the Act of 1919, to formulate a broad outline of a programme for the elections of next year.

"This will be a peaceful and constitutional way, sanctioned by history, of establshing India's freedom. The inititative

must come from the nation that seeks self-rule, not from the nation which has been the ruler. Such action alone can put an end to the present tension in a way consistent with the self-respect of both".

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

~~I-FOREIGN POLITICS~~.

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) GENERAL.

The Government and the princes.

Press.

24. Adverting to the enactment of the new Press law, the SAIPHUL ISLAM, of the 1st October, observes:- Special powers have been vested in the Viceroy for the purpose of framing laws only in view of the welfare of the Indians and not of that of the Indian princes. The lesson to be learnt from the procedure adopted in the case of this law is that we can avail ourselves of the Reforms only according to the wishes of the Government. To speak the truth, we are not wrong in saying that, considering that the Indian princes do not seek any protection and that the Assembly, which has the welfare of the Native States at heart, is also of the same opinion, an attempt is made to gag the Indian Press again on some pretext or other. By this law, the princes will become entitled to commit any kind of injustice in their States and they can exercise despotic sway therein, if they can only keep the British above them in good cheer.

25. Remarking that the British Cabinet seems to conduct matters autocratically wihout caring for the opinion of the Government of India as will be seen from that Cabinet having set at naught the recommendation of the Government of India for granting higher posts in the army to Indians, from the recent news of Reuter that certain recommendations in respect of the retrenchment of the military expenditure shared the same fate and from the news of the appointment of a committee for offering suggestions in respect of matters like the pay, pension and allowances of the officials of the Indian Civil Service, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 2nd October, observes:- Though the Public Services Commission had made recommendations in respect of the services throughout India in accordance with the ~~tex~~ then conditions after a thorough inquiry, the Government of India passed a final order considering the changes in the times and the prices of articles. True it is that the price of articles has arisen thereafter. But it was only after deep deliberation thereof that they expressed in their order of the 16th August 1921 that they had come to the conclusion that no increase whatever could be granted in the present state of the country. And there is no ground for our thinking that any necessity has arisen subsequently for a change in their old opinion and we should but state that the prices have shown a tendency of going down. We have not forgotten in this connexion the old contention of Sir William Vincent that several officials are put to much difficulty on account of their leaving their families in England

The relations between the Government of India and the British Cabinet.

for the education of their children and of the great expenditure to be incurred there for the necessaries of life. But, though it is true that such expenditure has increased in England after the war, it does not appear to us that it has risen after August 1921. Further, the Government of India have, for the past four yeas, sustained a deficit of about ninety crores of rupees over and above the income. It is not known what additional burden is to be thrust on the shoulders of India by the Macdonnel Committee on behalf of the officials of the Indian Civil Service. But, when we consider the order of the Government of India in 1921, there is no reason for thinking that they themselves would have offered the inducement in this matter and it has to be inferred that it is the Secretary of State for India that has been responsible for this at the instance of the British Cabinet. Hence, it is only the autocracy of the India Council that has preponderated in this matter also. It is clear from this that, though Lord Reading is adopting autocratic methods setting public opinion at naught in many respects, the Government of India have no freedom of action even in matters where x he abides by the opinion of the public. In these circumstances, we cannot say in what interests Lord Reading occupies the high postion he holds in this country.

SER The I.C.S. officals.

26. Referring to the news that the officials of the Indian Civil Service of the United Provinces wanted to pass a resolution among others to have their association registered under the Companies Act so as to enable them to file a suit against the Secretary of State for India for damages or for

other reliefs in case the posts that are reserved for them or those that they should get in due course are abolished, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 2nd October, observes:_ It is perfectly evident from this that they have, on the basis of the recent speech of Mr. Lloyd George, resolved to see that the assurance given from the time of the rule of the East India Company that no consideratins of caste or colour should weigh in the matter of giving appointments, and the provision in the preamble of the Reforms Act confirming the assurance contained in the declaration of August 1917, that the sole aim of the Government is to appoint a greater number of Indians to posts, are nullified. Will the delusion of our moderate brethren that seek the company of the officials, of the Indian Civil Service under the belief that they can attain responsible government by the co-operation of the latter cease and will they realize the true situation at least hereafter?

Adverting to the same subject, the NAVASAKTI, of the 6th October, remarks that the cry of these officials does not appear to have been hushed either by the noisy speech of the Premier, or by the calm but firm words of Lord Reading or by the spirited utterances of Sir William Vincent, and observes:- The only question that arises now is whether the officials of the Indian Civil Service are to obey the orders of Government under whom they have come to serve or those of this association. Do these officials wish to establish a separate Government for themselves? It should be stated that these deities of the Indian Civil Service wish that they should have the power of ruling India for ever. However much India may grow poor, why should they pay

heed thereto? It will be enough for them if their dominance lasts for ever. And it is said that these noble people are sincerely working for the attainment of SWARAJ by India!

SER The I.C.S. officials.

Adverting to the circular issued recently by the United Provinces Civil Service Association, the DRAVIDAN, of the 7th October, observes:- As the members of the Association are asked to obey 'any orders' passedby the general body, they will perhaps raise a big rebellion like the Bolsheviks of Russia and establish an independent government for themselves. If the Government of India do not act according to their wishes, they will perhaps offer non-co-operation to the Government like the men of the Gandhi party. What is the difference between the foolish acts of these persons and the mischievous acts of the non-co-operators? Why should not the Government of India, who clap the non-co-operators in jail for petty offences, punish these people? Will these officials, who have the ear of the Premier and of Lored Peel, pay the slightest heed to that Government?

RA Prohibition of visitors to Gandhi in jail.

30. Referring to the refusal of the Bombay Government to permit Mr. Sethmangaldas Parekh and Srimati Anusuya Bhai to visit Mr. Gandhi in the Yerravada jail in connexion with some doubts in the settlement of the dispute between the Ahmedabad labouers and mill owners made by Mr. Gandhi, and concluding from the news ~~from~~ furnished by the Ahmedabad correspondent of the HINDU that this was due to the impression that such frequent consul-

tations with Mr. Gandhi would raise the esteem of the latter in the eyes of the public, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 3rd October, writes:- The Mahatma has in no way lost his glory on account of his incareeration. The whole world extols his pure likfe and sound preachings and is amazed at the passive struggle carried on by the Akalis in the Punjab in accordance with his preaching. The Bombay Government need not create any fresh glory for him. But we have to point out the inconsistency in their behaviour. Did not the Government announce after his incarceration that a clean place had been alloted to him in prison and a KHADDAR pillow had been supplied to him? Was it not stated again that the Governor himself censored the Mahatma's letters? Do not these facts indicte an admission on the part of the Government of the glory of Mr. Gandhi? If they do things perhaps with the idea that calmness now prevails in the political atmosphere, we are bound to warn them they will meet with disappointment in the end.

END & IND Export and import duties in India.

33. Referring to the majority report submitted by the committee appointed by the Government of India for suggesting the lines on which the new powers vested in the Government and the Legislative Assembly under the Reforms Act for determining the export and import duties of India should be exercised, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th October, observes:- India has been subjected to loss as a result of the policy that was predominant in England from time to time. After the war, the British Government imposed a lower export duty on Indian hides for the

countries comprised within the British Empire but a xix higher one for other countries. India has also been sustaining loss on account of the exercise by the British Parliament and the British Cabinet of the powers of levying export and import duties in India. Now, coming to the afresaid report, the majority of the members of the committee have recognized that it behoves the Government to support the industries of India by the levy of tariff duties. If they had stopped there, there would have been no objection to their recommendation. But they have qualified their recommendation by certain conditions under which alone industries should be supported by means of the levy of duties. If, however, these conditions are to be followed, it will not be possible for industries to attain progress soon. Hence, it is but expedient to entrust to the Legislative Assembly the sole power of imposing protective tariff for the uplift of a partocular industry. But, to sate that the Assembly can impose protective duties only under certain conditions is but to curtail the powers of the Assembly. Such powers are vested in all countries solely in the Legislative Councils. If it is a fact that India has been given the power of determing the export and import duties, the Government of India will not accept the recommendation made by the majority of the aforesaid committee; but if they accept it, they will have subscribed to the opinion that such powers have not been given to the Assembly.

Military training to the Indians.

37. Detailing the particulars furnished by the Government of India, in a reply to a question in the Assembly about the number of Indians recommended by the Provincial Governments

for military training in the Sandhurst Military College, the DRAVIDAN, of the 3rd October, observes:- The figures for the last three years show that there is no progress in the Indians acquring military training. It is regrettable to note the decrease in the number of the Indians year by year. If the Indian Military College at Dehara Dun is improved and arragements are made for Indians to have higher military education there, the number of Indians undergoing Military training will increase. So, the Government will do well to introduce the necessary reforms for the Indians to occupy all posts in the Military Department.

The Akali struggle.

38. Adverting to the harrowing pictures published by the SWARAJYA of some sufferers in the Akali struggle, the DRAVIDAN of the 5th October, publishes an articel from the pen of a correspondent, wherein the following observations find place among others:- Who will not condemn this cruel treatment, whether he be a co-opertor or a non-co-operator? Does this become British justice? Is it not on account of several such cruel acts being committed now and again that the minds of the public are wounded and their loyalty impaired? It is cruel on the part of the irresponsible bureaucrats to commit such acts and stain the spotless British justice. We do not know what justification will be brought forward by the Publicity Bureau for these cruel acts. Will the bureaucrats realize hereafter at least that their irresponsible and cruel acts tell upon the justice of the responsible British Government and refrain from committing such acts?

41. Referring to the fact of the STATESMAN noting withgratification the appointment of 16 supernumerary military officers to the the Civil Service, as, in its opinion, this indicates that the Secretary of State for India has recognized the danger of a rapid Indianization of the services, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 7th October, observes:- It is clear from the Government seeking for supernumerary military officers for the Civil Service, when there are Indians available for such posts, that they are not willing to give effect to the spirit of the Reforms. No other instance than this is necessary to show that, after the resignation of Mr. Montagu, the British Cabinet has been adopting a retrograde policy to please the die-hards. Allthe same, our moderate brethren do not seem to have gained nay sense.

SER Military men in Civil Service.

43. In the course of a contribution to the TAMIL NADU, of the 8th October, under the superscription (Varadarajulu), the follwing observations find place among others:- Foreigners entered this country after coming to know of its wealth, civilization and greatness in other directions and, of those that did so, Englishmen alone came to stay permanently. They did not gain a victory over the Indians by means of a regular war and hoist their flag in this land. But they brought about victory by several devices. We decided later to live amicably with them, on account of the several assurances given by the latter, and we supported the English rule quite loyally, deeming

NCS The non-co-opeation movement

it to be our won rule. We permitted the white oficials who came here to serve us, to enjoy princely pleasures in this land. We treated them as our brethren and helped Englishmen in the several wars, commenced by them on account of their greed. Had it not been for the outpouring of Indian money and blood freeely in the German war, the Allies would have been refuced to dust. By entering into this unjust war, the Indians accumulated a heavy burden of sin on themselves. We took all this trouble for several years only to preserve the friendship of Englishmen and their Empire. But all our trouble has been in vain. We sought love and we had hatred. We hoped for SWARAJ and we got the Rowlatt Act. We entreated for the reduction of the taxes and the taxes wee increased. We rendered devoted service to Englishmen and the Punjab massacre followed. We won the war for them and they shattered Turkeyand insulted the KHILAFAT, wounding the feelings of our Muhammadans. The shameless moderates prayed for Reforms and they were granted Reforms worse than even the municipal rubbish. Those who bowed the lowest, got the post of Ministers. Just as Vibhishana came to rule over Lanka on account of his having betrayed Ravana, Mr. Sinha, the Indian that sold away his country, became the Governor of Bihar. The Punjab sinners have not been punished. Justice has not been rendered to the KHILAFAT. Famine and disease have not disappeared from the country. Thirty-two crores of people are suffering for want of even one meal for two days. The remedy for the unfortunate position of India does not lie in petitioning Englishmen, or in begging for redress, or in throwing bombs, or in holding secret meetings,

or in creating a rebellion; nor does it consist in promoting a feeling hostile to the English race on account of the unjust acts of some foolish Englishmen or in killing some Englishmen secretly. But it lies through love. We shall not care for the Government which does not care for us. We shall not receive the titles conferred by it. We shall not take any appointments under it. We shall not send our children to the schools of the Government. We shall not resort to courts and use the cloth imported from England. We shall gradually withdraw the help we have been rendering to the English Government till now. If, even after all this, the Government does not come round to our side, we will not pay the taxes. The agitation for SWARAJ cannot be suppressed, for SWARAJ is identical with our soul. Martial Law cannot stand before it. Jail is the home of SWARAJ. So the repressive measures of the Government cannot avail. The king is but a straw in the eyes of the ascetic. It is only ascetics that are respected in this country and Mahatma Gandhi has incarnated here to create a new spirit among and improve the character of the Indians, that were groping in the dark being subject to many insults and hardships, It is, therefore, a blind attempt to suppress the non-co-operation movement started by him. Let us, therefore, advance boldly bearing aloft the flag of 'non-co-operation' and singing the song of VANDE MATARAM.

44. The TAMIL NADU, of the 8th October, makes the following observations in the course of an article in praise of Mr.

NCS Mr. Gandhi.

Gandhi under the superscription(Varadarajulu):-- Gandhi broke the South African Government, defeated the Government of Bihar

in the struggle of the Champaran indogo plantations and broke the Government of Bombay in the matter of non-payment of taxes in Kaira. This is a fact knwn to all the world. He attempts now to mend the Government of India and it is certain that, if he cannot mend it, he will br ak it......... Mr. Leneinm, who underwnet the cruelties of the Russian Government for many years, is now the head of the same and Mr. Gandhi is confined in jail where murderers and thieves are confined. The cry of 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai' by thirty-two crores of people will never be falsified. The Yerrawada jail, wherein Mr. Gandhi is confined, has become the heaven praised by all classes of people such as the Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians, Parsis and Buddhists. Krishna was born only in a jail. Yet, he who died was only Kamsa. It is the first duty of the children of India to release Mr. Gandhi. Incessant agitation should be started throughout the country both day and night for his release.

Gandhi

The NAVAYUGA, of the 5th October, publishes a translation of a speech by Dr. Walter Walsh in London, extolling the personality and preachings of Gandhi and chracterising him as one of the world's greatest men in all ages and comparable in many respects to Martin Luther and even Christ.

It is the duty of the Indian to tell the Government that it is exceedingly unsafe for them to resort to repression, relying on the Justice party and the moderates. It will be impossible for the Government to conquer Gandhi. I warn the Government that the whole of India will rurn into Gurukabad

unless SWARAJ is granted soon--unless Mahatma Gandhi is released. The thirst for SWARAJ has taken possession of the people like poison; and the incarceration of Gandhi is promoting it. Nothing but SWARAJ will restore peace.

ENG & IND The arrogance of an Englishman

47. Referring, in a note under this heading, to the letter of an Englishman to the STATESMAN about the disturbance in the Agency parts, wherein he urges that the British Civilians should not be reduced to the positon of mere watchmen, which in effect means that the British should continue here always as masters and rulers, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 7th October, observes:- This is an instance to show that many of the whites possess racial pride. In spite of frequent promises to do away with differences of race and colour, their inherent character does not seem to disappear. Many of us are even now under the impression that we should attain salvation only with the help of these people.

NB Is it not unjust?

51. Anent the issue of a recent Government Order with reference to communal representation in public services, the BALABHARATI, of the 29th September, observes:- . . . . . If appointments are mde by selection and not by seniority, there is scope for many errors to creep in. Moreover, this Government Order will apply to the gazetted officers as well. The result of it will be that the senior Brahman and the junior non-Brahman employee are placed on the same footing. The appointing

officer will, under these circumstances, necesarily have to give promotion to the junior non-Brahman officer. Thus, one community will lose its confidence in th Government. Hence politicians say that it is not statesmanlike on the part of Government to do such things. So, Government ought to bestow some careful consideration on it before they actually resort to such unjust and partial measures against a party which is in a small minority. Is it not improper for the Government to refrain from deeply considering about this affair?

53. Under this heading, the BALABHARATI, of the 29th September writes:- If we ~~xx~~ carefully examine the present day

NB Partiality.

politics of the west, mistakes are to be found everywhere. Partiality is not wanting. All higher officials are westerners Even if some Indians get the higher appointments, they receive less pay (than the westerners), and a certain amount of differentiation is also shown in the honours bestowed upon them. If we think of the comforts afforded to both the races, we will be astonished. If the civil officers want beautiful bungalows, they can have them wherever want. The westerners, who come here for commercial pursuits, are given the help of the ~~people~~ police, and those who come here on a pilgrimage(?) are given monetary help. . . . . . (In Government service) seniority has been thrown into the background, and efficiency has been cast to the winds. The Government have resolved to give the posts of deputy collectors, tahsildars and the ~~order~~ other high appoinments whenever they fall vacant to the non-Brahmans alone. What more evidence is needed to show the partiality (of the Government)?

58. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 2nd October

NCS The Gandhi era.

writes:- . . . . In this world, a perpetual war is going on between brute-force on the one side, and truth on the other. The present-day statesmen have accepted the principle, that might is right, and are acting in pursuance of it. As a result of this, the world is immersed in sorrow. Those who believe that our might consists only in our being just should, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, see that the principle avove enunciated finds no place (in the existing world). . . . . To such of those people as think that the principles underlying the movement of Gandhi are not fit to be adopted in practice, the Akali struggle on the one hand, and the DHARMIC stand taken by the citizens of Surat on the other, give an adequate answer. No movement which is not bound by the cords of DHARMA can give happiness to the people. The western world is now in an agitated state of mind, and is actually overtaken by sorrow on account of its adoption of a political system which is divorced from DHARMA. In fact it is unable to find a way out of this misery. When, in her efforts to obtain independence, India also is being dragged along that very current, Gandhi has stemmed (the tide) and diverted her attention to the path of DHARMA . Though, to the eyes of those who are inbued with the principles of western civilization and of the highly educated persons, the message of Gandhi may appear as very reactionary, any one who views it in the natural light will feel, that it is the best Dharma. Mr. Gandhi asked why the success which had been achieved by the labourers of South Africa should not also be attained by the

people of India. That warning is bearing fruit to-day, for the people here are making sacrifices in a very large measure. They do not even mind the sufferings they are put to in the jails. Nor do they yield to the blows deàlt by the LATHIS nor do they fear even death.

59. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 2nd October, pubishes in Telugu what appears in the New York Call' under this heading, and also certain comments made by the BOMBAY CHRONICLE in that connexion.

Gandhi-the practical idealist.

61. In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 4th October, writes:-

Gandhi's birth-day celebration.

As a result of the arrest of the Mahatma Gandhi, thehopes of the authorities instead of being fulfilled, have been frustrated. In fact, these arrests have spoiled the prestige of the rulers, instead of making it aglow (with a new lustre). The more the people had lost their confidence in the Government, the more did the authorities resort to arrests. But these imprisonments have clearly manifested the determination of the people who have quietly yielded to all hardships, and thus published the defeat of the authorities. The fear which has now overtaken the Government clearly shows, how seriouslly, they have felt the defeat sustained by them. The scare of non-co-operation which has overtaken Mr. Lloyd George reveals to us the sense of general fear which exists among the authroritiies. The religious zeal of the Akalis appears as if it is SWARAJ zeal---.... . . . The arbitrariness and the fear of the administrators remind us of the

success which has attended Mr. Gandhi, and make plain the greatness of his birth-day celebrations. Everywhere in the country the enthusiasm of the people is on the increase. . . . .

NCS Gandhi caps.

71. Adverting, in a note under this heading, to the reply given by the Government Member to the interpellation of Mr. Pillai in the last session of the Madras Legislative Council regarding the punishment iflicted by the District Magistrate of Guntur on certain non-co-operators for wearing the Gandhi caps, the BALABHARATI, of the 6th October, remarks:- . . . . It is regrettable, that it has not been definitely stated whether attending a court with the Gandhi caps on, is or is not a crime . . . . Many times Mr. Pillai must have read in his law books the portion relation to contempt, of court but he could not have come across an instance of that offence in regard to the dress or the head-gear worn by the plaintiff or the defendant or the vakil. Poor man! He is criticising (the present-day occurrences) in the light of the conditions obtaining in times gone by. But is there not much difference between the conditohs of the feasting-day and those of the fasting-day? These are the days of non-co-operation. Is he not aware of the new meanings given to, and the strange commentaries put upon, Acts and sections? It is the fault of Mr. Pillai, and notthat of of the Government, to have put such a question, seeking with his own eyes the plight which has befallen sections 144, 107, and 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

72. Referring to the statement of the Hon'ble Sir William

Vincent in the Legislative Assembly in connexion with Mr. Lloyd George's speech about the position of the Indian Civil Service, the BALABHARATI, of the 6th October, observes:-

The means of attaining SWARAJ.

As for the attainment of SWARAJ by the use of brute-force, like the British people, the non-co-operators and all the co-operators also cannot but come to the conclusion that it is impossible. What then is the way left for the attainment of SWARAJ? Is it to sit in a corner, twisting the hands and grumbling? Though Sir William Vincent may not accept that non-violent non-co-operation alone is the only refuge for the attainment of SWARAJ, will it have struck our co-operator brethren at least to-day?

The result of the Reforms.

73. Referring in a note under this heading, to the figures relating to the travelling allowances drawnby His Excellency the Governor, the Government membrs, and the Legislative Councillors, the BALABHARATI, of the 6th October, writes:- . . . . Be it as it may, there is one point to be noted. Formerly, the Governor had control over all the Government departments. Therefore, it was necessary for him to tour throughout the Province to ascertain the wishes of the people and carry them out. According to the Reforms scheme, all the transferred subjects are under the control of the three Ministers, while all the reserved subjects are in the charge of the four Executive Councillors. Every Member or Minister is resonisibel for his own department. This is what is knwn as the system of 'portfolios'. The Governor does not possess

special control over the departments; nor does he administer any of them. While, in these circumstances, the Executive Councillors and the Ministers have spent only Rs. 60,000 on their tours, the travelling expenses of the Governor alone have come up to Rs. 1,30,307. We hear that the expenditure for his special Railway saloon has not been included in this figure. How much will it be, if that also is included? Let the readers add to this sum His Excellency the Governor's monthly salary of Rs. 10,000. If the business done is to be measured by this expenditure, the Governor alone must have turned out more work than the seven Members of the Government (Cabinet) put together. Surely there is no necessity to spend so much of the people's money on his tour, when no department is under his control; It will be either to enjoy a pleasure-trip throughout the Province, or to receive welcome addresses from the district boards, and the municipalities or to reapeat the same counsels in reply to all the addresses thus:- "There are no funds for works of public utility. (How can money remain when all that is availabe is being spent in such useless expenses!) Destroy the non-co-operation movement and do not depend on the Government". It is difficult to imagine what it will be if, in addition to this amount we take into account the sum spent in the various towns to arange a reception for him. May the ryots who pay the taxes be the embodiments of peace!

79. The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 6th October, observes:- In his augural address at the meeting of the Bombay Council at which the Under Secretary of State was present, Sir George

The Governor of Bombay and the non-co-operators.

NCS

Lloyd indulged in some sweet rhetoric by remarking that he would like to see the leaders of all parties, including the non-co-operators, to press their views through the Council. He may have affected this love for the Indians because of the presence of the Under Secretary for India. Or these words may have been intended to help the Indians to forget the stinging words of Mr. Lloyd George and His Excellency the Viceroy's comments thereon. Sir Lloyd even said that his Government was heartily in support of the grant of real self-Government to the people and the introduction of compulsory education. What surprises us more than anything else is that While the Prime Minister avowed that the non-co-operators should not enter the Councils, Sir Lloyd very artfully tells us the very contrary. What new net is this that the bureaucracy is laying for us? We shall soon know what the underlying motive of the Government is in doing this.

AA The Arms Act.

83. The VEERA KERALAN, of the 20th September, points out that the British Government and, following in their footsteps, the Travancore Darbar, have by means of the Arms Act taken away from the people the right which Nature has conferred on all animals of using natural or artificial weapons for self defence, and exclaims: "Oh! Look at the contrariness of fate." It expresses surprise that several people, instead of making efforts to get this unjust Act repealed, should be crying to secure for themselves the privilege of bearing arms under the exemptions provided by the Act. Adverting to the prayer of the

Members of the Madras Legislative Council for exemption for themselves and the reply given to them by the Local Government, the paper thinks that if later on a reply should be received from the Government of India that they do not consider it consistent with public safety to allow the Members of the Legislative Council to bear arms without a license, it may serve both to maintain the prestige of the Government and to open the eyes of the Moderate section of the Members of the Legislative Council, but for the fact that nothing can open the eyes of Moderates. It speaks in eulogistic terms of the action of the Zamindars, etc., of Kasipur who, on being served with an order by the Collector to surender their arms to Government or to apologise for observing hartal on the 13th of April, preferred to throw away their arms, and gave a bold reply to that order. It also asks whether it might be due to the participation in the students' strike at Trivandrum that the privilege of bearing arms was taken away from various people who previously enjoyed the right.

PARTIES

84. The YUVABHARATAM, of the 17th September, speaks in very slighting terms of the Moderate Members of the Imperial Legislative Council who thought that they did a valiant thing in praying the Viceroy to inform the Secretary of State of their disapproval of the Premier's speech on the Civil Service debate, and condemns the moderates for co-operating with the Government in spite of the depletion of the country's wealth and the loss of all respect.

Moderates condemned.

The SAMADARSI, of the 19th September, publishes an article xfromxthexpenxofxonexMr.xT.xK. from the pen of Mr. T. K. Narayana Pillai, B.A., B.L., condemning the moderates for co-operating with the British Government. He says:- "Alas! Do you still propose to co-operate with this Government which having trampled down all Indians and ameared the face of Mother Bharatha with charcoal, takes pride in posing as our 'lords' and 'masters'? Do you propose to accept all that they say as gospel mandates and join with them to heatlessly persecute and insult your own brethren and sisters? He further calls upon the people of Native States to remember that so long as slavery continues in British India, their fate will be similar, as the Native States also form part of the 'trust' which the British Government has inherited.

MP The Mappilla train tragedy.

85. The SWARAT, of the 26th September, writes in a strain similar to that of other extremist papers already reported (vide page 1102 of Report No.37) and concludes thus:- As remarked by Mr. Venkatapati Raju there would certainly have been a world-wide storm of agitation if instead of Mappilla prisoners some Europeans had met with such an evil death. From the conslusion of various such events it is clear that no value is attached even to the lives of black men.

RA Repression.

86. In the course of a long article under the heading 'Repression', one Mr. Janardhanan Pillai, writing in the SWARAT, of the 26th September points out that much was expected

of Lord Reading when it was announeed that he was appointed as the Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Chelmsford and that Indians eagerly hoped that he would devise some means for redressing their unbearable grievances, and says:- But what did he do? He first made use of sweet words which are natural to Englishmen. The people did not pay any heed to them but began to agitate more and more. Subsequently he induced his underligs to resort to severe repression and introduced laws and sections necessary for that prurpose. India then began to raise a hue and cry about her deplorable condition which was thereby brought about. Still the authorities made a rigorous use of them. Agreeably to the orders of Lord Reading's Government, the civilian officers after considering over the matter began to treat Indians as slaves and accordingly had recourse to various atrocites suitable to the times. They cruelly shut up in jails first-rate politicians and patriots and leaders of the people who were thristing for freedom. Contrary to the principles of the Royal Proclamation, they began to interfere shamelessly in religious matters, and confiscated fatwas of great, learned, divine personages. The Government jails were filled with leaders of religion. They began to persecute mercilessly those who conducted propaganda work against the drink evil and punished those who dressed themselves in a particular way. The heads of Provincial Governments perpetrated such and more highhanded actions. And during all this time Lord Reading sat quietly on his official throne at Simla or Delhi without any concern whatever.

Contrary to the wishes of the majority of the people, he invited the Prince of Wales to visit India at this juncture. Orientals are second to none in loyalty and India is an oriental country. The people of India will not so easily forget the fact that he invited the Prince to visit India at a time when the people were undergoing great hardships as a result of slavery and when great agitation was going on in the country and that he was sent away disgusted with India which is one of the chief dependencies of Britain. Lord Reading and his Government are responsible for this. His Majesty's subjects are patiently putting up with their highhanded actions. Indians will not yield to all this. They are now remaining in the same position without swerving even an inch from it as they remained before the authorities had recourse to such repression. The Viceroy is now deeply pondering over the results of his actions. And it has now been proclaimed that he is in a fix. He has been puzzled and has now become indignat also. He has frightened one-fifth of the population of the world and has made them cowards by describing to them the strength and valour of Englishmen. Yet Indians have decided to break their chains without delay. And even though several of them should fall a prey to spears, fire-arms, batons, shots and lathis, though several of their leades should be shut up in jails and though a policy of repression ever so bloody should be followed, they will not swerve at all from their determination. The authoriti s should temember that Indians will never be defeated in this righteous war, and that the non-co-operation movement followed by the various castes and creeds in India will continue to make progress in spite of the wicked actions and diplomacy of the moderates who dance to the tune of the Government.

91. Underthis heading, the PINAKINI, of the 30th September writes:- Our readers know that a commiette sat to consider the (provisions of the) Press Act, and that, according to its recommendations, the Act was repealed. We do not knw what necessity there is for the Bill so soon again as this? It is natural that some Native Princes would like to act in an arbitrary manner. The various newspapers of the State cannot find fault with the actions of the rulers without feeling a certain amount of delicacy about it. Such being the case, if other papers also are precluded from criticising their misdeeds, what hope is there for the people living in the Native States? . . . .

The new Press Bill.

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 6th October, writes:- The passing of this Bill by Government in defiance of public opinion indicates the heights to which the autocratic methods of the NABOBS in the Government of India have gone. If the Lords in the British Government should ever do this sort of thing, they would have to share the fate of Charles I. If any of the officers of the Government should act in that manner, they are sure to be dismissed from the service and their property confiscated.

The Press Bill.

The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 6th October, in an article adversely criticising the Press Bill, says:- It is not only improper but stupid to expect ~~xx~~ a display of loyalty towards the Native States from people who are not the subjects of those

The Press Bill.

States. It is true the Viceroy is endowed with pwoers of disregarding the opinion of the Assembly but it is a clear abuse of those powers to intervene in a matter like this. We wonder how the British authorities can agree to place these administrators of Native States indepndent of public opinion. What can be the object of our Government in so agreeing? Is it to prove that these rulers are inefficient? If so, what will the latter gain by supporting such a measure? True statesmanship in these days demands that public opinion should be respected.

The Press Bill.

The papers noted in the margin also comment on the Press Bill. The VEERA KERALAN, of the 4th October, characterizes it as a law which is as unjust as the Press Act repealed last year and observes that what has agitated all political parties in India more than anything else is the policy adopted by the Government in passing the Bill, contemptuously throwing aside the opposition of the Legislative Assembly and using the emergency powers of the Viceroy. The paper adds that, condisering its wholesale acceptance by the Council of State, the voters in British India cannot but exclaim 'save us from our friends' and that if anything more was needed to reveal the insignificance of the reforms than the circumstances that led to Mr. Montagu's resignation and the Premier's speech, this step taken by the Government of India has clean done it. It expresses the opinion that it has closed the only way of ventilating the grievances of the Indian States, i.e. through the Press in the British India and by way of an object lesson has opened the eyes of the subjects of those States to the fact that their Legislative Councils have no power at all in mattes relating to the administration

and the finance of their country, ~~xxxx~~ and calls upon the citizens of Travancore to try to establish resposnible government within the State. The SWARAT, of the 3rd October, points out that this law, which lays down that the press in British India should not utter a word however the princes may behave in their States and that any paper which opens its mouth will be dammed, will enable the Indian princes to do anything they please within their States. It speaks sarcastically about the zeal of the members of the Council of State for the welfare of the people and deprecates the attitude of humble submission assumed by the members of the Legislative Assembly towards this autocratic over-riding by the Viceroy. The paper calls upon the people of Native States to remember that this law which is a dagger aimed at the press in British India will finally pierce the heart of fre dom of the people of Native States, and exclaims that it is at a loss to know how many such events will be requeired to open the eyes of those who have been dazzled by the gilded reforms. The KERALA KHALAM, of the 4th October, points out that this hasty use which the Viceroy has made of his extraordinary powers to pass the Bill is attributed by Indians to the pressure of his autocratic impulse and thinks that it will serve to lessen the faith of the people in the reforms and that the members of the Legislative Assembly have raised such a hue and cry about the matter with a view to test to what extent the Viceroy may use his powers and observes that if as a result of their efforts the Parliament should repeal the law, it will be a great success to the people from a constitutional point of view. The NAZRANI deepika, of the 28th September condemns the Bill, points out that it has been but recently manifested how effectively the press

in British India can help to rectify abuses in Native States and calls upon the subjects of Native States to co-opeate with the people of British India in protesting against it. The YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 27th September, points out that this is an instance in point to show that the person responsible for the welfare of the country will have to act contrary to the public opinion, and observes that later on we can see to what extent agitation will be stirred up in the country regarding this matter. The MALAYALI, of the 2nd October, points out that it is not known how the criticisms of the British Indian press regarding the actions of Indian princes can amout to sedition inasmuch as people in British India are not the subjects of these Chiefs, and that nobody will respect the passing of a law opposed to the principles of jurisprudence or equity, and says:- "It is a fact well known to many that the administration of several Native States is unpardonably rotten and every day experience shows that the Rulers of such States and the British Government are suppressing the efforts of the subjects of those States to purify the administration. It cannot be denied that the British Government have forged this law with the deliberate object of preventing the people of Indian States from bringing to light the wicked acts and policy of the princes and administrators of those States. The evil anxiety of the Government to support those princes that treat their subjects unjustly without caring for the safety and liberty of several thousands of people is nothing short of an indication of an evil bureaucracy". The paper finally tries to refute the contention that this law was passed as there was a similar law in Native States and says:- In some Native States Members of

Executive and Legislative Councils are forced to swear allegiance to their own Raja as well as to the King-Emperor - a rule perhaps unknown in any part of the civilized world except in lands of polyandry--but will the British Government demand that the members of the Legislative Councils of British India should swear that they will be loyal to His Majesty the King-Emperor and to the Princes of the Indian States. Until they demand that, it is not consistent with reason and justice to bring into force such a Press law.

IV-NATIVE STATES

94. The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 6th October, observes:- We fail to understand why the Kashmir Government have thought it necessary to demand a declaration from Mr. C. R. Das agreeing to refrain from politics while no such declaration has been demanded of him even in British territory. Are we to suppose that the Native States are more paticular and fastidious in these matters than the British administrators? But these methods are unavailing at the present time when the dawn of the new spirit is in evidence on every side. It is ridiculous to attempt to obstruct its progress. If the Kashmir Government did not take this action on its own initiative, then it must have been at the instigation of the bureaucracy. But the fact remains that the rulers of Native States have been showing signs of a more and more 'delicate constitition' of late.

Mr. C. R. Das in Kashmir.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 21ST OCTOBER, 1922.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.- HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) GENERAL.

The High Commissionership for India.

7. SWARAJYA, of the 18th October, has the following:- "The very fact that India should even nominally be represented in any capital by an Englishman is a matter of national disgrace to us. The representative in London is not, if we are to believe official declarations, in the interests of British manufacturers. He is at least nominally a representative of Indian interests. It is only a subject nation that would consider a retired official from among its alien rulers as its own representative. Even Persia, Siam and Hedjaz have their representatives in London who look after the interests of their country. It is the peculiar privilege of India to pay for representatives whose interests lie elsewhere. Mr. Sastri went all the way to Australia to accept the principle of white monopoly of that continent. Sir William Meyer, with all the parapheranlia of an expensive office, is maintained in London as an understudy to the Secretary of State to patronize English manufacturers and to put into clandestine practice the nefarious principle of Imperial Preference. The High Commissionership, as it exists at presen, ought to go. If it is to exist at all the English tax-payer ought to pay for it. The double robbery of India's money which that office now involves is a form of sheer pillage which only a Carthinginian Imperialism such that of England can invent. India does not want it and cannot tolerate it."

VERNACULAR PAPERS

I-FOREIGN POLITICS.

8. The SUTANDIRAN, of the 1st October, publishes an article contributed to it by a correspondent, in the course of which he complains of the helpless condition of the Indian labourers in Ceylon and describes in detail how two such labourers aged 17 and 12 respectively, who had been sent out of the plantations as being unfit for work, had to roam about the streets of Colombo in search of food, how they took ill and applied to the authorities of the General Hospital there for medical help but were sent away with only one dose of medicine, how they were lying inside the Hospital compound on account of sheer exhaustion but were driven out later even from there, and how they fell down on the way being unable to walk and were picked up later by a local doctor who was moved by the miserable plight of the youths.

COL Indians in Ceylon.

16. Remarking that, from the recall of the old Governor of Kenya and the appointment of a new one, there is ground for believing that the Government are willing to settle satisfactorily the struggle going on there, and that it may be presumed from the reply of the new Governor to the address of welcome presented to him at the fourth session of the Congress of the Indians in South Africa, that he may try to bring about union between the Indians and the Europeans there, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th October, observes:- The new Governor may rest assured that, as far as the Indians are concerned, they will be ready to come to an equitable compromise considering the

The Indians in Kenya.

present situation, But it looks as if the stubborn Europeans there may create great difficulties in the way of his granting the Indians their legitimate rights. For their stubbornness does not seem to have suffered any dimnution by the recall of the old Governor and they do not like even the opening of the Congress of the Indians by the new Governor. From the very statement in the LEADER, published at Nairobi, that he should not have presided over an assembly which repudiated the British rule itslef, he may understand the difficulties that may crop up in the matter of affecting a just compromise. The blabbings of Mr. Churchill that he was going to make Kenya a country of the whites and the words of Major Wood in the House of Commons have increased their obstinacy and they have not realized that the Indians are also the subjects of the British Government and that the Government are bound to administer impartial justice to them as well. Though a few persons still possess the belief that they can obtain justice somehow or other, they cannot but lost all faith on account of the statement in the same paper that, as Indians do not have the capacity for colonization or political knowledge like the westerners and are not thus on a par with them, the British Government cannot create equality between the two races. Can there be a greater piece of arrogance than this statement? But there is no doubt that the positon of the new Governor will be very difficult. The aspirations of the Indians have become perfectly clear and none can assert that they are more than legitimate. But it remains to be seen whether the Governor will fulfil them boldly or will yield to the stubbronness of the Europeans.

II-HOME ADMINSTRATION.

(a) POLICE.

30. Reviewing the report of Mr. Sivasankaram Pillai on the conduct of the police in the Anantapur subdivision, in its leader under this heading, the ANDHRA PRAKASIKA, of the 30th September, writes:- If the allegations of Mr. Pillai are true, it is to be highly regretted. It is tobe deprecated that, instead of preserving peace, the police were the means of wide-spread unrest.. If immoral and improper acts like dishonouring as if to wreak vengeance, subjecting people to punishments, and misusing authority, are not facts, Mr. Sivasankaram, who is widely known and responsible, would not have ventured to write to the press. The higher authorities should inquire into the matter, and if they find that misdeeds, as reported by Mr. Pillai are facts, teach a lesson to the culprits who are bling with authority. Such misdeeds occurring here and there help to increase the prevailing unrest in the country.

RA The Police zoolum.

42. The SUTANDIRAN, of the 1st October, publishes form the pen of a correspondent, a contribution under this heading in the form of a dialougue, one party whereof makes the following observations among others:- People from the several districts of our Presidency numbering about 125 meet for about 5 or 6days in the month in Madras and enact dramas. Till now, several dramas have been staged. It was only this week that they intended to put on boards the Mahabharata. It is said that the 'agents' of this theatre live 7,000 miles away, but the

NCS The Legislative theatre.

actors tereof are the inhabitants of this Presidency. It is also said that the salaries those actors get are titles like Diwan Bahadur, Rai Bahadur and Rao Sahib. And they are conducting plays very well for this salary. Though self-respecting persons do not desire it now, certain traitorous persons have not given up their profession as actors yet. A certain person who is in the hands of the bureaucracy acted the part of Duryodhana very well. Certain members of the Justice party played the role of Ministers. One member of this party acted the part of Sakuni, delighting the minds of those that witnessed the drama. When I think of the part played by him, I have been amused on the one hand at his ability and enraged on the other, at his deceitful chracter. Certain Diwan Bahadurs represented Dronachari, Dripachari and Bhishmachari. A moderate acted the part of Vidura. The remaining 101 persons represented the younger brothers of Duryodhana. The scene of non-co-operation was staged on the day I attended and the part of Sakuni was enacted very well on the whole. Vidura moved a proposition in the Court of Duryodhana. The truth of the matter is that all the subjects of the latter being unable to put up with his tyrannical rule, have joined together and, bearing the weapon of non-violence, are conducting a passive warfare. Duryodhana has thereupon clapped many excellent persons in jail, by means of his pwoers and pride of possessing armies with the idea of xx putting down those subjects by his deceit. He has also brought about the incarcertain of Lord Krishna for a term of 72 months. The aroesaid persons in prison number 25,000 and they live in jail like Prhlada with the faith that truth will win in the end. Now, Vidura brought forward a resolution that Dronachari and others should go into a Committee, make enquiries

and report to Duryodhana's Court about their conclusions in the matter of scrutinizing the punishments awarded to the said prisoners with a view to release them. At once, Sakuni rose and said, without the least compassion, that this question could be considered in the Council, only when such non-co-operators asked for their release for fear of the jail and that otherwise, such a consideration was unnecessary. Immediately Drona stood up and said that, as the passive resisters would not so ask them but would bear all manner of hardships and as there had been miscarriage of justice, it was but just tat the resolution in question should be passed. Though Bhishmachari and Kripachari supported the resolution Sakuni xx urged that, as many evils had arisen and much money earned by King Duryodhana had been spent on account of the non-co-operators, the matter need not be considered, especially in view of the fact that they themselves had not asked for the same. Duryodhana then put the rosolution to vote. The rsult was that as 58 members joined Sakuni, who was eating the salt of Duryodhana, and voted against it and only 24 members stood on the side of Vidura, it was defeated. These non-co-operators and Sakuni are both black men. Yet, just as a disease that is innate kills the man, the idea of the latter is that though equal justice is not adminstered in th world and though 33 crores of people may suffer from want fo food, virtuous rule should not come to pass. As the pst of the Minister will be Sakuni's only under Duryodhana's rule, these wretches have forgotten the interests of their motherlnad in their hunting for that post. Hence, I do not wish to speak of them at this auspicious hour.

The other person in the aforesaid dialogue then says that he heard that, in the very ame theatre, another drama would be enacted very soon by many rigteous persons, wherein Lord Krishna now undergoing a term of imprisonment would preside, that all the Pandavas would take part in that drama and that both of them should go and witness the same then.

44. The SUKHODAYAM, of the 5th October, publishes a contribution from the pen of a correspondent containing in detail the proceedings of a public meeting held in Trichinopoly on the 1st idem, in which Mr. Varadarajulu Nayudu and Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar are reported to have made the follwing observations among others:-

NCS A public meeting in Trichinopoly.

MR. NAYUDU -- The reason why you have assembled here is to express your anxiety in finding a way out from the system of Government which has kept us in slavery. We want SWARAJ. We wish to rule our motherland in which we were born and bred, and to make the Government, that enslave us, work under our control. The Government are not our masters; but we are the masters of the Government.

MR. C. RAJAGOPALA XXX ACHARIYAR-- We should act like the Sinn Feiners of Ireland, who boycotted a parliament composed aboslutely of foreigners hostile to them and adopted the methods suited to their progress, and boycott the Legislative Council. You express your joy at the victory of Kemal Pasha. Consider whether you, who have not done any heroic acts whatever and who are slaves, are justifeid in rejoicing over that matter.

45. Quoting the order of the Deputy Director of the Military office at Sohat on a petition submitted by the probationary clerks of that office for being given the revised selae of pay, in which he says that their behaviour shows their heatred, that they should be shot down the next morning ang that they might communicate his order to the Legislative Assembly or Mr. Gandhi, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 9th October, remarks:- From this we can learn how some English officers treat their Indian subordinates. We do not know how much of India's money was being paid every month to this virtuous person. It cannot be said whether his arrogance will be curbed by his having been reduced.

AI The conduct of a Military officer.

49. Adverting to the answer of the Government of India to the question put in the Legislative Assembly as regards the items of military expenditure in India, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the woth October, writes:- We have to conclude from this reply that the Government of India have quietly acquiesced in the pay of the British soldiers having been increased, in spite of its having been done without their sanction. Who can say that it is just to raise the capitation expenses at a stretch from £861,700 to £1,896,000? The expenditure of Rs.345,81,740 in the year 1913-14 incurred on behalf of the British soldiers has risen to Rs. 9,50,30,000 in 1921-22. Perhaps, notwithstanding the utter poverty of India as compared with Great Britain, British troops should be brought to India and paid the same scale as they are paid in Great Britain, as

Mil. EX Indian military expenditure.

if there is a dearth of men in India. But why should not this course be adopted even in the case of Civil officers? Are the members of the Civil Service paid in England so much as they are paid here? It does not appear that the postion of the Government of India at the time of the inquiry of the Welby Commission has in any way changed now. They have to dance to the tune of the War Minister with the result that the military expenditure which was about ten crores of rupees before the Sepoy Mutiny has now risen to about 67 crores. There is no means at all for salvation until India acquires power, even in military matters, for SWARAJ without the control of the military will never prosper.

The Akali struggle.

50. Remarking that the members of the Legislative Assembly have become satisfied with Sir William Vincent's narration of the details supplied by the Pubjab Government as regards the Akali struggle, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th October, points to several press representatives having published long refutations contradicting every detail in Sir Vincent's statement, and says:- The proverb is that a clever lie lasts but a week. But the baseless nature of the statement of Sir William Vincent has been demonstrated immediately. What explanation have the Government to offer for this refutation?

Commul. The Akali struggle.

Adverting to the news of the Associated Press that eighty Akali prisoners were sentenced to rigourous imprisonment by the Magistrate on the suspicion that their petition to him for

copies of the depostions of the prosecution witnesses to enable them to sumit their statements might have been engineered by the Gurudhwara Committee to drag on the inquiry and to cause trouble to the authorities, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th October, writes:- We are now witnessing many wonders in the administration of justice, which were never witnessed before, and we do not know what curious things are to follow. The Magistrate would not, wait till, the accused could prepare their statements after the perusal of the depositions of the prosecution witnesses and submit the same to him. Instead of this, all pretence of a trial may be done away with and a Magistrate may as well remain in the place where people are arrested and award punishments to them.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th October, refers to the reply of the Punjab Government to the letter of the Secretary of the Congress Committee inquiring about the Gurukhabag incidents, asking the former to let in evidence before the committee and pointing to the statement said to have been made by the Government that, as the committee had "condemned the horrible cruelties of the police", they were prejudiced against them, observes:- Though Sir William Vincent stated before the Legislative Assembly that the beating by the police did not go beyond the limits of necessity, do not subsequent orders of that Government to stop the beating imply an admission on their part that it did go beyond such limits? If more force than necessary had not been resorted to, as is alleged by the Government, it is they that should prove it by evidence. Seeing that they have let slip the opportunity of doing so by advancing some false plea, the public will only view that their case is weak.

Referring to the Akali struggle, the MALAYALI, of the 25th September, observes that the ~~xhx~~ whole world is now eulogising the bravery and non-violence exhibited by the Akalis. It says:- It is the self-same valiant Sikhs that fought for the Empire in Flanders and Mesopotamia and there saved the lives of several Englishmen, that now--while they proceed with songs and prayers--are being hammered by the brutal police. The KERALA SANCHARI, of the 4th October, however, condemns the attitude of the Akalis in the Guruka Bagh affair, points out that it is the duty of the Government to see that no breach of peace occurs in the country and observes that the leaders of the people in India should immediately advise the Akalis to co-operate with the Government to effect necessary reforms in the administration of their temples.

The Akali struggle.

54. In its leader under this heading, the BALABHARATI, of the 6th October, says:- There is a proverb which says 'Thoughts are not bald (clean shaven) though heads may be'. Owing to other cuses, the tiger maybe wearing the goat's sikin; but on that account, it cannot change its thoughts. Similarly, the moderates may throw themselves into hysterics of joy just because the bureaucracy is covered with the goat's skin of the Reforms. They may be glad that, in the Legislative Councils, the officials (non-officials) are in the majority. But that the result of this is nil is becoming clear day by day. It is obvious that though there may be some artful changes, no real change has tken place either in the traditional ways of

The Reforms and the repressive laws.

the Government or in the heart of the bureaucracy. The head of the bureaucracy may have been made bald by these representative Councils; but there is no possibility to say that for that simple reason, highhandedness in thought or deed has been destroyed-. . . . . . . They have been giving assurances that the enactments which do not receive the full approbation of the popular representatives will not be put into force. But what has become of theri vain wishes? . . . . . Though the Defence of India Act has disappeared, section 144 alone is operating as a blessed and unfailing weapon for the Government which is wider in its scope and is more prompt, effective, and successful then that. This alone has become the PANACEA for all diseases to extirpate the people's birthrights of speech meeting and movement... . . . . Though it has been made impossible for the authorities to demand securities and swallow up those which are given . . . ., it has become easy for them to freely use sections 124 A and 153, repress every day countless editors of newspapers and imprison them. In the present state of affairs it has so happened that jounalists should have one foot in the jail, and another outside it, and must be quite ready for the invitation of the authorities.. . . Not only have the people not possessed the full right of criticising the officials who receive salaries and allowances and who are intended to please the people by their services, but it appears that they should also pay damages to them for defamation. Ah! The officials' loss of fame! . . . . . Stringent measures are highly necesary for a Government which wants to protect its highhandedness by all means. . . . . . As the mind of the DORAIS is like the shadow of a tree, it may be natural that the view of the officials undego cahnge every moment-. .

The members o the Legislative Councils can be sure of their honour only so long as they accept with closed mouths all Bills and demands for grants as they are. . . . . The authorities will respect the Legislative Councils, pat the members on their ~~xxxx~~ backs and praise them only so long as the latter give their approval to all their actions, whether just or unjust. When a hostile view prevails, they will disregard them, abuse them, and push through their business by exercising their independent power. It is for such a hollow theatrical performance that men like Mr. Montagu have sprinkled on the moderates a sense-stealing medicine which they called 'the diarchy'.

The political prisoners.

56. Referring to the treatment meted out to the political prisoners, the same correspondent to the TRILINGA, of the 7th October, observes:- The fact that our political prisoners are not given even the comforts which, on being caught, will generally be allowed to the Irish revolutionaries, who are now engaged in an open war of violence to uproot the Provisional Government there, reveals the anger which the authrorities bear (towards those political prisoners). Is it not opposed to the principle of civilized governments to punish with whipping, chaining, and solitary confinement, the political prisoners who, by the complete abandonment of all violence and by the adoption of non-violent means, have vowed themselves to sacrifice their all for the sake of obtaining their birthrights? Besides, they are asked to do very hard work, are denied the newspapers, are supplied with food unfit to be eaten, and are not given bathing and latrine accommodation. Even as regards the extension of these comforts, the political prisoners are divided

into two classes, and only one of them is allowed to have its bedding and read the newspapers. We do not know why there should be this distinction at all, for the political prisoners have all done the same crime and have the same (political) views.

Indian independence.

58. The SWATANTRA, of the 6th October, gives in Telugu the following portion of what Mr. Seeley has written and the remarks of Mr. Andrews:- Though there is not to be found even to a little extent the spirit of nationalism among the people, and though they have no burning desire to send out the foreigners, if at least the idea that it is very mean not to observe non-co-operation with the alin rulers, gathers strength, there is no doubt that from that very day the British Empire will break up and cease to exist. The reason is that the Indians are in a majority in the British Defence force. Think that the Indian armies have not revoled. Still, we xlearly see that it will be impossible (for us) to rule India even for a single minute, if no Indian enrolls himself in the army. We cannot but confess that, if the whole Indian nation which we stupidly consider to be a conquered nation, rises up at one time, that very minute it will be impossible fo us to hold our Empire.

Mr. Andrews then criticizes these remarks in the following strain:- Is not the philosophy of the movement prevalent in the country at the present time found in the above remarks? . . . . As Professor Seeley has said, do we not see that the feeling that it is shameful and humiliating to offer co-operation to a foreign Government is now prevalent among the People?

Do we not feel shameful when others regard us as those of a conquered nation? Indeed, all these are clearly matters which go on at the present day. . . . . . .

59. In its leader under this heading, the SWATANTRA, of the

The new era.

6th October (received on the 12th) writes:- The westerners immersed in thei fascination for machinery and in their worship of the deity of Arrogance, have become gradually dependent on nature. The weapons which they have made only help to bring about the destruction of man. Besides,it is the western education which has subjugated mankind, and has made them ASURAS (demons). For the last one hundred and sixty yeas, Indians have been fed on the milk of western education(which has subjugated mankind, and has made them) right up from their infancy They have forgotten their own DHARMA and lost all their birthrights. . . . . There is no scope in this new era for the ostentatious display of one's desire to do good to others, while (underneath it) are the arrogance and the love of prestige which make one proffer help to increase the sufferings of the helpless and the innocent smaller nationalities of the world. . . . . . We are of course seeing the loss we incur as a result of western eduction. It is this that has hardened the chains of passion, and has increased the stupidity of theIndians. Hence it is defective to the core. The freed for money, the hankering after enjoyments, the commercial view of things, all of which exists in the (present-day) political world have not only deceived the body of man but also his soul. But the new era boycotts these qualities. . . . . How long are the highly educated Indians going to be steeped in ignorance, and remain

without respect for the message of Mr. Gandhi. To their short sighted eyes, the righteous message of the Mahatma may appear as something unnatural. But the bureaucracy helps to tighten their bonds of slavery and to show them their true miserable condition, by expelling the delusion which has hitherto overtaken them. . . . . .

The absence of hate; the superiority of the movement.

66. Referring to the account given by the correspondent of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN about the work which Mr. Gandhi's movement has been able to do in India, the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 12th October, observes:- Though the correspondent had expected that Indians would hate the Europeans on account of the misdeeds which had been committed by General Dyer at Amritsar, yet he received nothing but respect and kindness from them. He seems to wonder whether this attitude on their part is due to their general indifference or to their straight and honest dealings, or to the preachins of Mr. Gandhi. . . . No doubt as they are dependent on others for a long time, they may have patinely bonne many a humiliation. But it must be said that there is a wonderful awakening among the Indians at the present day. They have made it clear, that they will not keep quiet until the humiliation done to their nation is removed. Such being the case, the fact of their non-violence in thoughts, word, and deed certainly cannot be due to their indifference. There is no doubt that the preachings of Mr. Gandhi and the honest and mild nature of the Indians are chiefly responsible for this. India is now an idel for the whole world, for she does not hate those who agonize her. She patiently bears what

all troubles others put her to, without retaliating at all. . For a long time, there had been contentious feelings in India, but Mr. Gandhi strove hard to put an end to them and restore unity among its people.

Sitaram

The Rampa riot.

70. Under this heading, in its news columns, the NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 10th October, ~~xxxtxxx~~- writes:- Should the rioters get to the out-skirts of the Dusetti region, it would be impossible to trace them out for several months. The Naasi-patam camp is not favourable for the search. The present step will amount to affording them a good strong-hold, instead of driving them from the Agency Tracts to the plains. It may be better if the reserve police abandon their present position and encircle them from behind from Chintapalli to the boundary of Dusetti via Gudem Hills. The Inspector-General is very alert in the matter, but what good will accrue if one who is acquainted with the paths inthe Agency is not placed at the head of the forces? If such a step is not taekn, it is feared that the rioters will continue to riot in this manner for a long time.

AB

Dr. Annie Besant's new Swaraj Committee.

71. Under this heading, in its leader, the NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 11th October, contains, among others, the following remarks:- If the British really mean granting SWARAJ to India through the Reforms, their object will be crowned with success; but when we consider the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George and the high officials in the Whitehall towards India, we cannot believe in the words of the British. It is not wrong to say that the respect shown by the British Ministry and the Govern-

ment of India of late towrds the resolutions passed in the Legislative Councils and the aspirations of the people is frustrating all the hopes of the Indians. Under such circumstances, it is now wonder if such bodies as the one to be started by Dr. Besant turn out useless. However, we wish that her attempt may become fruitful. It is a delusion to suppose that non-co-operators will join this, and it is now known how the rest will act.

NCS Civil disobedience.

72. Writing about the advisibility or otherwise of adopting civil disobedience at the present moment, the HITAKARINI, of the 9th Oct ber, observes:- From the very beginning we are having two evil omens for launching civil disobedience. Let us see what these are, mainly with reference to the Telugu country. A serious critical situation has arisen in the matter of the adoption of civil disobedience in the same magnitude as we find the element of violence in the arbirariness of the authorities. Ther first evil omen is the absence of a leader fit to pilo the country in this dangerous hour. Secondly, even if there is one, the country has not understood the philosophy of the movement and so has exhibited passion very often. This is the sencond evil omen. We do not think that these two defects can be set right soon. So it is our opinion that to make efforts in the direction of launching civil disobedience is to wreck the country.

Commul. Gurukabagh.

73. Referring to a letter said to have been written by a Sikh mother to her boy of 12 exhorting him to dedicate himself to the cause of establishing the religous rights of his

community at Gurukabagh, the SAMPAD ABHMUDAYA, of the 13th October, writes:- Mother India has 33 crores of children of the type of this Sikh boy and she feels the same way about them as this mother did about her boy of 12. Only, some of her children seem to abandon their own faith in order to propitiate an alien deity. They are consumed by communal jealousies and sectarian hatred. If the Indians should be firm in their spirit of self-sacrifice, the British will learn to uphold their own traditions of justice and the self-sacrifice will soon bear fruit. Mother India gives her message to her sons in various forms. We trust that these sons will accept the creed of non-violence, adopt SATYAGRAHA and will not rest until justice is established.

The Akali incidents.

74. The SWADESHABHIMANI of the 13th October, writes:- Even the Government cannot have forgotton so soon how bravely the Sikhs shed their blood in the last war. How exasperated these Sikhs are by the present harassment of the Akalis is evident from the open letter of Sirdar Anup Singh to the Punjab Government. Anup Singh's family has served the British for four generations. When we see that the Government think nothing of hurting the feelings of even so loyal and trusted a subject, we cannot help regretting the short-sighted and indiscriminatiing attitude of a Government labouring under false ideas of prestige.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

76. Referring to the news of a liberalizing of the adminis-traion in Afghanistan and the consideration shown by the Amier to the needs and sentiments of his Hindu subjects, the

SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 13th October, observes:- The Amir also advocated the use of KHADI and is himself wearing it. India has much to learn from the Amir's policy. Hindu-Muslim unity is a thousand times more important to India for attaining SWARAJ. The Muslims among us would therefore do well to follow the example of the Amir and aim at greater cordiality with the Hindus. The KHADI is even more important. If even an independent State like the Amir's needs the SWADESHI, how much more should we--a helpless country--need it? It is extreamely gratifying that these two most important reforms, namely, Hindu-Muslim unity and SWADESHI, are spreading with equal rapidity even outside India.

Eng &Ind The British rule in India.

77. In an English article under the heading 'Communal Jealousies' a writer in the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 17th October, remarks:- ' . . . . . The advent of the British into India led to the cessation of bloodshed in the country. It was expected that the constitutional principles which made England great in Europe would also make India great. The people were disappointed in their hopes. English people sent to govern India, people who are embodiments of British justice and fair-play in their own country, have mostly become in India vertiable NABOBS. Pwople have now opened their eyes and see that the ancient days of bloodshed were decidedly better than India under the Anglo-Indian rule to-day! The policy of 'Divide and rule' adopted by some of these Anglo-Indian nabobs has converted India into a regular hell. The love, loyalty and esteem in which the just and constitutional people of England were held have become things of the past. It is a thousand pities that the prestige of the British Empire has been allowed by the Anglo-

Indians to be dragged into the mire. The example said by Anglo-India has been bearing its doubtful fruit not only over British India, but even in Indian States. . . . . . It is this infernal policy that converted Europe into a huge cemetery. This policy has invaded India. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man exist only to adorn sermons. In their practice, most of the autocrats and bureaucrats in India show that they are no better than blood-thirsty man-eaters. . . . .

79. The KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 25th September, records that public opinion in Malabar is that it was not at all desirable that Mr. Hitchcock should have been appointed on special suty to write the history of Malabar riots. The Government of India are of opinion that he is one of the principal persons responsible for the death-wagon affair. Some people suspect that this special duty has been assigned to him as a sort of punishment for that. Even if that be so, in any case, he is unfit to write the history. As observed by a local English paper the history which he writes can only be a partial one setting forth the points in his facour.

MP History of the Malabar riots.

80. The KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 2nd October, and the Muslim of the 28th September, publish an appeal from the Secretary of the Jamhiyath Davatho Thabli Islam on behalf of distressed Mappilla women and children in Malabar. The appeal says among other things:- The wretchedness there is increasing day by day at a terrfic rate. There are only two figures to be seen in Malabar evincing enthusiasm and joy. One of Kalan

MP Condtion of the Muslim women in Malabar.

(the God of Death, Tr.) and the other of hard-hearted authorities. But the Mappillas, men and women, young and old, are immersed in a sea of sorrows and present a true picture of helplessness and misery. One look at them will melt even a stone. Such is their plight to-day. The appeal mentions examples by way of illustration, some of which are--(1) The corpse of a Mappilla woman had to remain for many days uninterred in a village called Mampuram, as there was not a single man in that place; (2) at the village called Jardur 66 helpless families were receiving help from the society but the recent arrests of men have added another 35 families to the number; (3) at the village Chauna where there were 50 families before, there are now left only three women and four children; (4) the atrocities which Hindu neighbours commit on Mappilla women-already brought to the notice of the authorities: (5) Mappilla women having to seel themselves and their character and Muslims their religion for a morself of food, etc.

Another statement published in the MUSLIM, of the 2nd October, by the above mentioned secetary and the leading article in the same paper refer to the shooting and the hanging and the transportation and the imprisonment of innumerable Mappilla men and the arrests still continuing, as being the cause of all this misery which threatens the extermination of a valiant and noble race.

NCS KHADDAR.

82. In a long leading article under the heading 'The next thing to be done', the YUVA-Bharatham, of the 1st October, points out that the universaal use of KHADDAR in India will

remove the slave mentality of her people, by giving them work and means of independent livelihood, and that it will solve the problem of SWARAJ without, on the one hand, disobeying laws or on the other co-operating in the making of laws.

The article traces the chain of dependence, the coolie on the landed tenant, the tenant on the janmi, and the janmi on the district authroties. It says if the District Collector asks him (the janmi) to contribute for the war fund, he must salam and do so. If any Sahin (Englishman, Tr.) goes there, he must satisfy him even if cow-slaughter or any other slaughter is required for the prupose. . . . . After becoming independent no one will mortgage his property in view of a Governor's visit.

When KHADDAR has spread and weaving has become quite a usual pursuit, will policemen, who work day and night, fair weather or wet, for Rs.10 or Rs. 12, think that they have lost their lives when they have lost their jobs? Will any one who has any other means of livelihood go in for policeman's work? . . ..

83. The MUSLIM SAHAKARI, of the 5th October, points out

Mappilla prisoners.

that there is a general in the country, which it endorses, that there is a large number of Mappillas convicted and detained in jails since the time of the commencement of Martial Law in Malabar who are really innocent, and remarks

that it is not proper on the part of the Government to do or favour such actions as will confirm this impression at a time when the non-co-operators are casting aspersins on the adminis-tration of justice by the Government. It agrees with the general view of the people that the recent release of about six hundred prisoners out of several thousands is inadequate as the number of innocent people in jail is likely to be very much more than that. It pleads also for the release of those who may have done some acts through temprorary excitement. As most of the imprisoned men were coolies and agricultural labourers, it points out that their continued detention is undesirable for economic reasons. It says there is reason to believe that there is truth in the allegations of Hindu atrocities on helpless Mappilla women in the area. The paper, therefore, thinks that the Government should absolutely release all those who have been convicted for monor offences and reconsider the case of such as have been convicted on serious charges. It adds that the condition of the Mappillas is so very deplorable that the community will for ever remain grateful to the Govern-ment for any help rendered to them at this juncture.

Government service and com-munal rivalry in the Madras presidency.

86. The MANORAMA, of the 3rd October, says:- It is very much to be regretted that in the Madras Presidency communal rivalry for the loaves and fishes of office is increasing day by day. And it cannot but be admitted that it is most deplorable that in this struggle the Government is helping one party to the despair of the other This communal rivalry in this Presidency paves the way for

the failure of the Reforms whether they may be an experiment or not. Like the non-co-operators who contend that the Reforms are inadequate and disappointing, and the Indian Civil Service and other officers who maintain that the Reforms are injurious to their prospects and status, the non-Brahmans and some other castes who struggle for securing appointments in this Presidency have become a real impediment to the success of those Reforms, for a general impression has now been created that the position of the Indian officers in the Madras Presidency has been endangered by some unjust acts of the party which is said to be in pwoer, which displays communal rivalry in all matters. This will check the progress of the administrative machinery whether it is reformed or not. If the present party in power consisting of several respectable leaders of the people having the welfare of the country at heart, do not immediately consider about this matter, it is quite likely that matters may come to a grave crisis.

The paper then points out that the two recent Government Orders regarding the giving of preference to non-Brahmans, have destroyed the impression amongst the people that ability and efficiency are the tests for grantingappointments and thinks that all will protest against such orders if persons are to be debarred from entertainment in service and from promotions simply because of their birth, that it will only serve to increase communal rivalry and to reduce the faith of the people in the impartiality of the Government and concludes with the remark that various defects cannot fail to creep into the administration of the country if the Government are going to distribute appointments under them in proportion to the castes and communities in the counctry.

III-LEGISLATION

The answer of the Government in regard to the Press Bill.

87. Under this heaǩdging in its leader, the NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 9th October, among others, makes the following remarks:- We think that the reasons set forth by the Government are not satisfactory. We learn that all the Native Princes have not tried for the Bill. But some who a re accustomed to arbitrary rule might have attempted. Is it right to make the princes who hitherto conducted themselves peacefully towards their subjects act herafter like Ravanas? Are not the Government bound to safeguard the freedom of the people? The futility of the reasons of the Government is confirmed by the opposition of the whole of the non-official members. They are such that we cannot place any faith in them. There is no doubt that by the Press Bill British authorities also will prevail in the Native States in an arbitrary manner. We are at a loss to know how the Government wish to strengthen their pwower by enacting this unfortunate Act.

MR The result of the dual system of Government.

88. In its leader under this heading, the HITAKARINI, of the 9th October, refers to the certification of the new Press Bill by the Viceroy and observes:- First of all, the question arises as to whether this Bill is at all necessary. If it is found necessary in the interests of India, why should the Legislative Assembly throw it out? Under the new Bill, if anybody adversely criticizes the unjust administration of the Native States, he will be committing sedition. Under it the Viceroy wil have to give the sanction (to prosecute the accused) Of course, it is well known how well the Executive will protect

the people from being tampled under foot, by menas of the powers of sanction (vested in them). As the local official is the authority in all these matters, it will be like the delusion of taking a rope for a check. There is no connexion whatsoever between the administration of British India and that of the Native States, for the postiion of the latter is really very wonderful. The princes of the Native States, for the position of the latter is really very wonderful. The princes of the Native States are fully independent so far as their internal administration is concerned, but in matters of waging war and concluding peace, they possess nominal powers. Their independence is subject to the two conditions, namely that of increasing the strength of the Imperial forces a little, and the offering of the help of their armies to the Emperor when need comes. Of course, there may be some high sounding agreements written in exquisite phraseology between the British Government and the Native States. In spite of it they enjoy only nominal independence and do not have any real freedom. All the same they exercise arbitrary powers in their internal administraion. Since the days when India's angle of vision suffered a change as a result of the world-war, the administration of the Native States and the actions of the princes have been severely criticized at every step-. Somepapers in British India too have indulged in it sometimes. . . . . . . These Native States which ha come into existence during mediaeval times were exercising full arbitrary authority. Desire for power is a trait of human nature, and so the British authroities and the princes of the Native States have both tried to protect their respective possessions. The non-co-operation movement

filled both sides with fear, and each was afraid that the time for losing all their authrotiy had drawn near. So they considered the situation and passed new laws. No better reason than this suggests itself to us. If not, what is the meaning of the statement made by the Viceroy tha the Bill was found necessary for the welfare of British India? . . . . . Whatever that be, we are of opinion that this action (of the Viceroy) will certainly meet the prospect of the attainemtn of SWARAJ by India more distant than ever before. Who can stem the tixx tide of fate? God's will shall be done. This is the first 'flash of lightining' for such of those nationalists as wish to enter the Legislative Councils. The Indians should have to saynow thus: You may not give us anything, but see that you tie your dog. When popular opinion is not able to assert itself, it is better for us to keep aloof. There cannot be any more unwise act than to get into the councils, and come out of them with empty hands like mad men. Nor is that a manly step. We have come to see now how the moderates fared. . It is a matter for surprise why these people should take so much of unnecessary trouble, like the animals which try to drink water from a mirage. How wonderful!

PRESS

Press Bill.

90. The papers noted in the margin also comment on the Press Bill passed into law by the Council of State. The SUPRABHATAM, in its issue of the 20th and the 27th September, points out that the administrators, nay even the heads of departments in Indian States, are more autocratic and tyrannical than Hiranya and the kings of the Romanoff dynasty and chracterizes

the Bill as an axe to destroy the safety of the subjects of Indian States by cutting off the only channel for ventilating their grievances, and asks what will be the fate of those States if this liberty is denied to their subjects. The YUVA-BHARATHAM, of the 8th October, expresses similar sentiments and asks whether the passing xx of a bill like this marks a step in the ladder leading to freedom. The YOGAKSHMAM, of of the 7th October, thinks that the Government of India, even without any special treaties, are bound to do all in their power to protect the feudatory chiefs who so faithfully and dutifully co-operate with them to maintain their prestige. The PAURAN, of the 7th October, observes that as a result of this law people of British India have to be loyal to the Indian Chiefs also. The SREEVAZHUMCOD, of the 7th October, points out that Lord Reading has by using his autocratic power closed the way of relief which was hitherto open to the people of the Indian States and calls upon the people of Travancore to remember that their salvation depends upon themselves.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 28TH OCTOBER 1922.

NO. 43 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

(k) GENERAL.

5. The HINDU, of the 26th October, observes:- "To be frank, the Tories really believe that this country exists for

Eng&Ind. India and the New Ministry.

the British civilian, the British trader and the British planter. Not that a Liberal regime will of itself be a blessing to India for, the only difference between the former and the latter is that while the former believes and acts as he does, the latter only ACTS as if India is ment for Britain's advantage, his intellectual conviction alone being otherwise. To India, therefore, be the Ministry Tory or Liberal, it makes but little difference. Bondage is bondage, no matter whether the fetters be made of iron or gold. The only change that may occur is in the Near East policy, the Tory outlook in the Near East being frankly pro-Turk owing to imperialistic considerations as opposed to the Liberal tradition of anti-Turk inclinations. The Conservatives may befriend Constantinople and even agree if circumstances required it, practically to lose Mespot and Palestine to keep India and Britain's Islamic Empire'. In other directions, their outlook is narrow and our fight, should it yield any fruit, must be one at once united and determined in spite of all sorts of discouraging factors."

VERNACULAR PAPERS

10. Adverting to the hardships suffered by the Indian labourers in Ceylon and pitying the ignorance of the Ceylon planters

Col Indians in Ceylon.

in condeming the rules framed by the Indian Emigration Committee for regulating the system of recruiting coolies, the DRAVIDAN, of the 16th October, refers to the Ceylon Government having agreed to nominate one representative of the Indian labourers on the Ceylon Legislative Council and observes:- Till now, no representation for the Indian coolies has been given in the Ceylon Legislative Council. Now, it is gratifying to note that one representative at least will be nominated. But, the Indian labourers who live there fxx form one-seventh of the population of Ceylon. Considering this proportion, we would say that the representation accorded to the Indian labourers who live there form one-seventh of the population of Ceylon. Considering this proportion, we would say that the representation accorded to the Indian oabourers on the Council, consisting of 37 members, is comparatively small.

15. Adverting to the news that the European members of the Legislative Council of Kenya, wherein they form the majority,

Col A Deportation Bill in Kenya.

have resolved to introduce a Deportation Bill, the SWADESAMITRAN of the 20th October, writes:- It is said that this Bill is brought forward only to get rid of one particular race that has colonized that country. But, it is the Colonial Minister that is responsible for such arrogance and stubbornness on the part of the Europeans there. The question of Kenya is growing more and more intricate. Mr. Montagu was perfectly right when he said that this question was the touchstone of the fairness of British justice. And how long can the Colonial Minister refrain from publishing his final decision?

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION

(a) POLICE

33. The KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 9th October, is glad that

Government have now recognized the truth of the allegation that

MP The Malabar Police.

many innocent Mappillas have been arrested and imprisoned on account of the enimity of the police towards them, and commends the action of the Government in severely punishing some of the guilty policemen and releasing about 500 innocent Mappillas from prison. It reminds the Government once more that a critical examination of the cases of the prisoners now in jail will show that almost all of them should be released immediately and requests the Government to undertake such enquiry.

(j) SALT AND ABKARI.

Pro Prohibition of the drinking of liquor.

41. Writing on the efforts now made in Colombo for the prohibition of drink, under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 20th October, observes:- Aversion to drink is being created among the people of India on account of the spread of Gandhi's movement. The officials only are perturbed at this. Those who encourage prohibition are becoming the objects of their indignation.

(k) GENERAL.

RA Punishment for a cap.

42. In the course of a leader under this heading, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 5th October, observes:- We are seeing the several measures adopted by the authorities for repressing spirit of SWADESHISM which has been spreading for some time in our country. The caps are punished and even the possession

of a CHARKA is deemed to be sedition. Some persons have been punished in the Andhra country for having worn Gandhi caps and even a question in the Legislative Council on this subject has been of no avail. The dumb representatives in the Council have nodded their heads in assent to the reply of the Government Member! There are in this country people who revile the patriots that refuse to co-operate with a Government which metes out this kind of justice! This is a wonder of the times.

43. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th October, reproduces in Tamil an extract from the AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, wherein

Commul. The right of self-defence.

toe latter paper appreciates the speech of Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya at Lahore urging the right of every one to defend himself and says:- It is on account of our timidity that events like the trouble at Multan occur. We therefore entirely support the view of the Pandit that an army for the defence of the people should be raised and that qualified persons enlisted therein irrespective of caste or creed. Those who cannot protect the honour of their women are not fit to have SWARAJ.

The reply of the Deputy Director of the Military Office at Sohut to his clerks who demanded higher salaries, that they should be shot down and that this might be communicated to Gandhi and the Legislative Assembly, shows his wickedness. Are the Government aware how dangerous it is that such idiots as this Deputy Director should hold high offices? But, this is nothing wonderful in the administration of this country where even petty officials exercise control by means of threats. The only panacea, however, for all these evils is SWARAJ.

48. Remarking that, as SIR SANKARAN NAYAR stated in his speech delivered at Madras, it has been customary on the part of the British Cabinet and especially the War Minister to impose on India such items of expenditure as they cannot account for to the House of Commons, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th October, observes:- The Government of India also do not object to this strongly; perhaps, even if they do object, no one pays heed to it. As a result of this, India's income is being plundered in several ways and the Government do not have any balance in hand for undertaking works necessary for the welfare of the people. It seems that the Government of India have requested the British Government to bear a portion of the expenditure to be incurred in the grant of gratuity and travelling allowance to such among the Indian army as were recruited during the late war and are demobilized now. It is quite natural for one to question the propriety of the Government of India agreeing to the proposal of India being burdened even with a portion of this expenditure, when the Indian forces have been recruited for the benefit of the Imperial Government. But has India the liberty to prevent such things?

EX . The expenditure of India.

50. In commenting upon the speech of Mr. O. Kandaswami Chettiar as the President of the Adi-Dravida Conference at Chidambaram, the SUTANDIRAN, of the 8th October, observes in a leader under the subscription 'V.R.':- This gentleman asked the Adi-Dravidas to rely upon Englishmen. This is a mistake. Self-confidence is the best thing. . . . . . Mr. Maurai Pillai

The Adi-Dravidas.

stated at the conference held at Chingleput that the Adi-Dravidas could have salvation only if they relied upon the non-Brahmans. There is a wide gulf between democracy and the Justice party, which deems appointment under Government alone to be the end and aim of life. This party has not the heart and the principle to raise the glory of man and so the advice of Madurai Pillai cannot avail. Mr. Gandhi has demonstrated by his conduct, that the Congress movement is a movement of the poor, being full of real love. The Adi-Dravidas should no longer stand out of the Congress in hesitation.

Commul. The Akali struggle.

52. Referring to certain pictures published by the SWRAJYA xx depicting the sufferings undergone by the Akalis at the hands of the authorities, a correspondent to the SUTANDI RAN of the 8th October, signing h?mself 'V.R.' says:- If the Gurkhas and the Sikhs refuse to serve as sepoys under the Government of India, its military strength will disappear in a moment. The Sikhs are true warriors and the majority of them have faith in violence. Two things follow from this. One is that the principle of non-violence of the Mahatma has come to stay. The second is that other Indians who are valiant in words should wake up at least after the action of the Sikhs; for, if violence would succeed, the Sikhs who were accustomed to it would surely have resorted to it.

Adverting to this subject, the SAIPHUL ISLAM, of the 18th October, remarks that the heroism and firmness of the Akalis and their attachment to the principle of non-vilence deserve

the praise of the world itself and adds:- But the ENGLISHMAN prates that the Akalis have commenced this struggle under the influence of the Bolsheviks, with the idea of destroying the Government. It is, however, the nature of English papers to set up this cry whenever Indian national movements attain success. It is only the Europeans, nevertheless, that praise the leades of the Bo lshevik movement as their gurus. And the Europeans should understand that the teachers that incite people to war against the Government have not incarnated amongst the several religionists in India. The Sikhs have repeatedly emphasized the fact that the Akali struggle is a religious one and has no connexion with politics,. Let our Government learn that, whatever steps maybe taken against public opinion with the aid of repression and military strength they will not avail in the end.

Referring to the present Akali struggle, the RYOT of the 15th October (received on the 23rd), says:- . . . . . The non-violent behaviour of the Akalis serves as an illustration to show that prowess, courage and heroism ae to be seen not only in killing the severe vilence and the horrible deeds indulged in by the police, they (the Akalis) are ready to give up their lives for the work they have undertaken. At this hour, it will be well for the Government to conduct itself with far-sight and not unnecessarily exasperate the most heoric Sikhs. The Sikhs have extreme faith in the British Government, and it is not statesmanlike to lose it by such acts as these. Faith which is once lost can never be restored. The country is already in confusion. It is statesmanlike to kill it and not to augment it.

Commul. The Akalis.

53. Referring to the saatence of imprisonemtn, for one year, passed on Swami Shraddhanand,

RA Swami Shraddhanand.

the LOKOPAKARI of the 12th October, obseves:- Though we are no doubt very sorry at princes of ascetics like the Swami being confined in jails along with thieves and inurderers, we are at the same time highly rejoiced thereat. The reason for this is evident. For, the incarecera-tion of saints like Mr. Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Shraddhanand is bring ing the red-letter day near, wen SWARAJ will be attained by this country. And there is no doubt that their imprisonment--the power of their penance --will uproot the slavish life of thes country and hold aloft the banner of victory.

54. Referring to the election of Mr. Vasudevayya of Salem as the President of the Tamil Nadu Conference to be held

RA Mr. Vasudevayya.

in November xkx 1922, and characterizing himas one of the men who have mdde excellent sacrifices for the country in the Tamil land, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 12th October, observes:- The bureaucratic Government that has so lost its eyes and intellect as not to be able to realize the greatness of wise men, sent Mr. Vasudevayya to prison and acused him to work the oil-press and grind flour-. It is but proper,however, for us to honour this great man whom the authorities wished to degrade.

The English gave certain reforms to India calling them the first steps of liberty. Certain 'weathercocks' who were rejoiced at this gift obtained certain posts like those of Ministers under the Government itself and a heavier burden of taxes was placed on the back of the poor. The taxs are so terrible as to lead one to think that they may break their back.

57. Referring to the recent news of the ENGLISHMAN that the Secretary of State for India is not willing to accept the unanious recommendations of the Racial Differences Committee the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th October, writes:- Though the Government of India presided over by Lord Reading are retrogressive in their policy, the British Cabinet do not accept even their recommendations. And Lord Peel too, who is the present Secretary of State for India, lends himself to such a course of action. Though Sir William Vincent and Dr. Sapru signed the report of the afroesaid Committee, the British Government have rejected the recommendations made by this Committee. And we do not know whether these gentlemen are going to take any steps or offer an explanation similar to the one they offered on a previous occasion. In spite of the fact that both of them had, in their capacity as members of the Press Act Committee, recommended that no protection was necessary for the Indian Princes, they stated that certain facts were brought to light subsequently at the instance of the Secretay of State for India.

EI Racial distinction in the administration of justice.

58. Remarking that it appears that the British Cabinet have defeated the aim of the recent circular of the Government of India in regard to the appointment of a larger number of Indians to the higher posts in the Civil Service, just as they have thrown out the recommendations of the latter about the same policy being adopted in the Military Department also, and that they have passed orders against any steps detrimental to the future life of those officials being taken, the SWADESAMITRAN,

SER The Indianization of the services.

of the 18th October, observes:- Thus, the idea of several people that a larger number of Indians will be appointed in the cadre of the Civil Service has also been frustrated. But, what is the TIMES OF LONDON, that stated that the Reforms Act was a law and could not therefore be set at naught by any one, going to say about the hostile attitude evinced by the Cabinet in regard to this matter which forms an important part of the preamble thereof?

Adverting to the orders said to have been passed by the British Cabinet on this subject, the DRAVIDAN, of the 20th October, writes:- This dashes to the ground the hope that a new Indian Civil Service consisting of Indians alone, who are trained in India and qualified for the posts, may be formed. The opinion expressed by the Cabinet is a useless one indeed. Considering this and the othr events that have been happening of late, the British Cabinet do not seem to pay any regard to the aspirations of the Indians. We strongly condemn this attitude of the Cabinet and anxiously await the publication of the full report of their decisions.

The Indian independence.

60. The SWATANTRA, of the 15th October, publishes in Telugu what Mr. C. F. Andrews writes on certain portions of Professor Seeley's book entitled 'The Indian Independence':- I am here quoting from Seeley that portion (of his book) where he has discussed the noteworthy historical principle, namely, that revolution is not caused by those meanminded and helpless people who are ever in the lowest depths of degradation, but

by those who are intoxicted with new ideals-. . . . . "If the spirit of nationalism which we have tried to develop spreads among the Indian forces, we have to mainly depend upon them and them alone. . . . . . If, instead of a vevolt of anominal kind there should be a rising of the whole Indian nation, that very day or hopes will be shattered, and the time for the disintegration of our Empire will come. The reason for this is that we have not conquered India. To conquer and rule is improbable. ." It cannot but be said that the fa t that, at the time of the inaugaration of the new era, there is Mahatma Gandhi who may be said to be the very life of the Indian SWARAJ movement, shows that God's blessings are on us. . . . . The problems as to how impossible it is for us to endure foreign slavery, and how to extricate ourselves from such mean servitude have always troubled the heart. Mr. Seeley has stated the first principle thus:- "One chief cause for national decline is servitude under aliens for a long time".

We should carefully consider every word of this principle. It is not every kind of servitude, but only servitude for a long time that is the root cause of national decline. For the last one hundred and twenty years India has served the British Government.

The means to SWARAJ.

61. Under this heading, a correspondent to the SWATANTRA, of the 15th October, quotes the following remarks of Mr. C. R. Das, and observes:- Mr. C. R. Das has said thus:- "SWARAJ is SWARAJ. Nor can any take it away (from us). It is within us;

it is our right; and we should enjoy it. We should make others recognize this (right). That is our duty".

If we make the necessary sacrifices, SWARAJ will come to us. India is anxiously waiting for it. She has taken the vow of SWADESHI. She is carrying out the duty of non-violence. She is offering her money for the attainemtn of independence. She is now engaged in an unbroken penance. All are eligible to take part in this great penance. Everybody will strive his level best to secure the salvation of the mother country. . .

Commul. The Akali SATYAGRAHA.

68. Under this heading, Mr. Gounguntla Venkatasubramanyam writes to the TRILINGA, of the 14th October, as follows:- At a time when the people, plunged in the darkness of fascination which is born of hate and blinded by the infatuation of power, have immersed the country in a pool of blood, that a message of non-violence blended with sacrifice and leading to the establishment of peace should be delivered to the world, is only due to the extreme kindness of God. We should be mightily pleased that, through the excellent advice of the Mahatma, India has had the good forutune to understand such a sacred message, apply it to the present state of things, and thus put it into practice . . . . . . It was but recently that the western world has begun to understand such a . . . . It was but recently that the western world has begun to understand the weakness of brute-force and the superiority of the spirit of sacrifice. The Akali Sikhs wear black turbans. Every one knows that, wherever the balck turban had appeared of late,

the violence of the authorities was rampant. Instead of prohibiting the misdeeds born of selfishness from taking place, when we see the Government imprisoning the Akalis, we can emphatically say that their action is not actuated by a sense of justice. . . . . We have heard of the soldier, led away by the brute in him, and with a view to please the devil within him acting blindly in a fit of passion without knowing his own self and crying out "The enemy should be killed and destroyed" But we have neither seen nor heard of men, except perhaps one or two, who, condemning the adoption of violence, ever uttering the name of God, and keeping tune with the sounds emanating from the lathi-blows of the police, are prepared to give themselves up at the altar of sacrifice, thus keeping even their bodies ready to be cut to pieces rathe than think of destroying the enemy. . . . . . . There is no limit to the cruel deeds which are being perpetratedin the name of "law and order". Even the moderates and the members of the Legislative Councils have condemned the misdeeds of themselves to the arrogance of the police authorities who were intoxicated with infatuation- . . . . . . As the lathi-blows had been dealt on the heads of the Akalis just in the same way as the dhobie forcibly beats his clothes on the washing-stone, many lost their consciousness and fell down. It appears that a man's eyeballs too had come out. We do not know how they had stooped to beat on the head with such force such non-violent people that even their eye balls protruded? It is stated that those who had fallen down senseless were dragged aside. The imprisonment of those who brought food for these people and the stealing of things therefrom show how the authorities stoop to do even the

most cruel acts. Even old persons beyond the ripe age of sixty had to submit themselves to the demoniacal acts of the police. An aged womanwho had come to minister to the wants of the wounded received a severe beating as she was giving some fresh water to anunconscious man. As a result of the severity of the blows dealt on him a Muhammadan youth was not in a position even to speak. When the leaders wnt to examine the tents constructed for giving medical help, this youth told him how the police had beat and thrown him down and how human excreta had been pressed downintohis mouth...... . Mr. Beety had necked out (lit. used the half-moon) Mr. Ganga Singh and threw him down. There upon, the police dragged him on the floor right up to their camps, There is no limit to the wounds which he received. Mr. Beety did not stop his "great" work. He took the drum and the other instruments from the drummers and the pipers who were playing there and threw them into the tank close by. As if to get the name that they were the true followers of their master, the police tooo threw down all the people who had collected themselves at a meeting there and did "great" things like dragging them or kicking them with their feet. . . With their natural serenity, Government had conected this eith certain dacoities somewhere and said that the Akalis were perpetrating violence. Besides, they uttered many lies by covering up, what they had done and by saying that they had used only as much force as was barely necessary. Let us consider the views expressed in this connexion by that sage-like person, Mr. Andrews, who takes delight in doing service to humanity. He said: "Of the acts which I have noticed, some are demoniacal and some are very cruel . . . . . . So far as this cruel beating

is concerned the moraldefeat of the Government is certain . . . . I have not seen in may life-time such a horror and such a miserable spectacle (as this)" . . . . . The Govenment must have done all this to break up the union which has existed among the Sikhs and to separate them (from one another) in accordance with the principle of "Divide and Rule". Be it as it may, by their sacrifice, the Akalis themselves are giving a proper reply to the Government. As a result of the force of SATYAGRAHA, the strength of the Government has disappeared at the present moment. Stopping (the people) in the middle of their journey has ceased. Severe beating has been discontinued. But these cruel deeds have not stopped thereby, for they have only yielded place to a severe repressive policy. . . We hope that the SATYAGRAHA vow taken by the Akalis will help to add new lustre to the Indians who, not at all afraid of the strength of the cannon of the British people, by following the path of non-violence, are even prepared to give themselves up on the altar of sacrifice.

74. Under this heading, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 21st October, has the following:-

Commul. Gurukabagh.

The people are convinced that the civil disobedience contemplated by Mahatma Gandhi is now bearing fruit at Gurukabagh. . . . . . . The object of this attempt is not to paralyse the Government. It is to show how far the Sikhs are united under one leader. . . . . . No Government can entirely rest upon the strength of the sord. It is certain that the British Government also is not founded upon the strength of the sword. No Government, not even the

British Government, can refrain from attracting the confidence and the devotion of the people, besides winning them through fear. Simultaneously, this Akali movement is encouraging the soul-force among the people and inspiring distrust towards the Government. No bureaucracy and no Government can treat this movement with indifference. It is vain to oppose this movement by a repressive policy. The bureaucracy must have understood by this time that it is in the repressive policy of the Government that the sword wielded in this war of peace is rendered sharper. . . . . There are indications that the Government have now realized the futility and the danger of their repressive policy.

RA The imprisonment of the Mahatma.

76. In the course of its leade under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 18th October, makes, among others, the following remarks:- . . . . . Before soul-force, brute force has proved useless. The lathi-blows were of no avail before the soul-force of the Akalis . . . . . Even now the Akalis are wending their way to the Guruvanam. The authorities are still wasting their time with the adoption of a repressive policy. They are constructing new jails. In spite of this, the edge of the enthusiasm of the people has not blunted even in the least. We need not say whose has been the victory. The Punjabees who crawled on their stomachs before are now the pioneers of civil disobedience in India. Besides erasing the blot of Chouri-Choura (the story of) Amritsar is solving the SWARAJ problem as well as the Punjab affair. . . . . The authorities have not, till now, spoken one word in praise of the wonderful conduct of the Akalis. This is sufficient in

itself to show that the Government has sustained a defeat. . . The movement of Mahatma Gandhi is now sounding the DUNDUBHI of success. . . . . . Let Mr. Lloyd George confide in brute-force if he likes. Let him if he chooses, cast aside the principles laid down by Jesus Christ as unsuited to the present age. But, the methods of Mr. Lloyd George have proved tobe of no avail. His efforts to bind the whole world with (the bonds of) brute-force have borne no fruit. The civilized world now slights Mr. Lloyd George who has hitherto been praised as the leader of all Europe. The League of Nations and such other toy-houses have crumbled down to the ground. . . . .

80. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 14th October,

AI The truthfulness of a missionary.

remarks:- The MORNING HERALD published that Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers announced that, in the cicinity of Amritsar, the British rule had ended, that Indians should dishonour the British women, that Europeans (Indian) Christians and Hindus should be slain, and that treasuries should be looted. Can there be a falsehood more wicked than this? We do not know how to praise the truthfulness of Dr. Wilkie on whose authority such news was published.

84. Referring to the report of the Racial Distinctions Committee

NCS The officials alone are helping the non-co-operators.

and to the rumour that Viscount Peel is not inclined to give effect to ~~xx~~ its recommendations, under this heading, the NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 16th October, writes:- . . . . . Assisted by the Legislative Assembly, His Excellency Lord Reading

is governing India and therefore he is responsible in everything to the Indians, but not Viscount Peel. . . . . If, in any matter, Viscount Peel pesistently happens to go against the wishes of the Indians, he will certainly be the cause of unrest in India.

Col The result of Mr. Sastri's mission.

92. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 17th October, observes:- Although Mr. Sastri failed to go to the one important colony to which he should certainly have gone and the condition of the Indians in the colonies is the same as ever, he is still busy blowing his own trumpet, whichis all that he seems capable of doing. Mr. Sastri tries tothrow dust into our eyes by telling us that the result of his mission is fairly satisfactory. Why should he not tell us what he actually effected? He visited Australia, Newzealand and Canada. How far eid he succeed in removing colour hatred among the white inhabitants in those countries? A little concession gained for the Indians on the Banana plantations in Queensland seems all that he was able to achieve. Should we have wasted sixty thousand on this one little concession. But so long as he has patrons to support whatever he does, why should he care?

Commul. The Sikhs and the Congress Committees.

93. Referring to the news of the arrest of Sirdar Nidhan Singh, the KANTHIRAVA, of the 17th October, says:- The various sub-sects among the Sikhs were learning to sink their differences under the inf uence of Pandit Malavya and the Working Committees of the Congress. The arrest of so prominent a leader

of theirs as Sirdar Nidhan Singh would help to complete this süsion and unite the subsects int one solid community. The arrest must, therefo e, be regarded as a blessing in disguise. How inspiring is the message of the Sirdar which tells us that the Congress is now doung for the Sikhs the very thing that their great leader did for them in 1760 and that it is the duty of evey title-holder maon them to become a Congress volunteer!

NCS Non-co-operation and Council elections.

95. In a leading article, the SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 20th October, remarks:- It is ridiculous and hrmful to the prestigeof the Congress to pass resoutions which are at present utterly impracticable. The boycott of Government schools and colleges and of law courts belongs to the class of impracticable r eso utions and must no longer be advocated. While the non-co-operators would perhaps reluctantly concede this point, they are still bent on boycotting the couuncils. Those Congress members who have no objection to entering the councils do not go there to co-operate with the Government but only to uphold the spirit of non-co-operation by opposing the Government. Even the staunchest non-co-operators make use of the posts, telegraph and railways instituted by Government, which is inconsistant with strict non-co-operation. They object to entering the councils because of the oath of allegiance they are asked to take. But of the two, namely, opposing the Government in the councils according to the dictates of one's conscience despite the oath of allegiance and using Government institutions (such as posts and telegraph) despite the pledge of non-co-

operation the reader can judge for himself which is real non-co-operation. Is it cooperating with the Government to oppose them both within the councils and without? Even granting that entering the councils is opposed to the principle of non-co-operation, it is certainly not prejudicial to the attaining of SWARAJ, which is after all the real goal. Discretion, one should remember, is the better part of vaour. To say this is not to dissociate oneslef from non co-operation or from the cause of SWARAJ.

96. The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 20th October, writes:- Although

SER Indians and the higher administrative posts.

the Government have accepted the principle of appointing Indians to the higher posts as far as possible, in practice this principle is still ignored. That is British statesmanship; to say one thing in principle and do something else in practice! Lord Reading, in defeence to the wishes of the Cabinet, has abandoned his own views in this matter. His Excellency hopes that with the change of Ministry he would be better able to carry out his intentions. But for the present at least Indians will not get the higher posts. It is amazing that we have to look upon Englishmen among the ~~civil~~ Civil servants with this sort of deference! We wonder why the reforms should make a pretence of equality.

101. One K. N. Janardanam Pillai writing in the SWARAT, of

Mil.Ex Huge military expenditure

the 10th October, refers to the huge military expenditure of India, explains that the fear of Russian or Afghan invasion is now groundless, concludes that the expenditure is

enexcusable and points out that if its purpose is to frighten Indians to subjection, it is not very desirable. He asks whether any people dominating over a peaceful and enlightened race has ever pressed them down with such a weight. "It is this burden which India has so long borne patiently, the same that has deprived her of her freedom and stands in the way of her future well-being".

The MANORAMA, of the 10th October,(eulogises the action of the) says:- It is because 60 per cent of the revenue goes for the maintenance of an army and a huge amount ~~afr~~ for the Civil Service, that there are no funds for the needs of ocal self-government.

All India KHILAFAT Conference.

108. The MALABARI, of the 11th October, says that the All-India KHILAFAT committee intends inviting representives ~~fox~~ from Angora, Constantinople, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Afghanistan and other Muslim countries to attend the ensuing All-India KHILAFAT Conference to be held at Gaya.

Press

The Press Bill.

112. The MALAYALA PATRIKA, of the 7th October, is of opinion that the majority of the people object to the ~~xxixn~~ action of the Viceroy in exercising his independent authority to carry through the Bill. It further observes that this incident has proved that the Legislative Councils have no power to safeguard public opinion and that it has added strength to the non-co-operators.

The DESABHATAN, of the 11th October sayerely condems the Bill.

The MANORAMA, of the 6th October, (also severely condemns says that a State which is well governed does not require such a measure, and Chiefs who mosgovern their States ought not to be given such protection. By the introduction of this law in opposition to public opinion the Government of India have only helped misgoverning Chiefs.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 4TH NOVERMBER 1922.

NO.44 of 1922.

ENGDISH RAPERS.

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) GENERAL.

The Mappilla rebellion.

3. The WEST COAST REFORMER, of the 27th October, remarks:- "The Congress Committee has appointed a commission to inquire into the causes and details of the recent Mappilla rebellion. Lloyd Georgian infection of springing committees and conferences on the public seems to|have been patented by the Congress Committees and conferences on the public seems to have been patented by the Congress Committee after its own design. We have no quarrel with any private individual or body of individuals venturing on a quest after truth in any realm. It is, however, open to serious question as to how far such enterprises can be allowed to complicate and clog working of the administrative machinery. . .

We are conscious that there are no definite provisons of law under which sugh an organization can be prohibited from making inquiries but we apprehend that it would be dangerous to allow this specieds of apparently hamless, but really injurious mission. We are sure that the Government has by now learned to its cost that tolerance misplaced begets serious ills and we do not hesitate to suggest the desirabbility of preventing such a disturbing programme of inquiry being carried out at present"

JUSTICE of the 30th October, observes:- "We suggested to the Government month ago the advisability of appointing a committee to inquire into the whole affair. Unfortunately, ours has been a cry in the wilderness; for reasons best known to themselves, the Government have shyed at the question so far. However, the Congress has just come forward to undertake the task which, from the public point of view, ought to have been the Government's to perform long ago. We are not at all convinced that the Congress is the best agency to go about the district at present and collect evidence on the question, although we are now prepared to go the whole hog with those who contend that nothing good or beneficial can come out of such an inquiry. Even the Congress may have some very interesting revelations brought home to it-- revelations which will be at once ugly and thought-provoking from its own point of view. As for the contention that the Congress has prejudged the case, it is not, in our opinion, a very impresive argument to advance. For the matter of that, the retort could very well be made to those very persons who have now come forward to protest against the Congress inquiry that they themselves have committed the

very error of which theyallege thè Congress to be guilty. For what, after all, do they say in their manifesto? They definitely assert ~~xhax~~ that the Congress-cum-KHILAFAT propaganda is the direct and proximate cause of the Mappilla outburst' Is this not, we ask, a prejudging of the issue especially when it is remembered that in Malabar itself there are a number of people who do not entirely subscribe to this view? However, as we said above we are not among those who believe that the Congress men are the persons most qualified and competent to inquire into the causes of and the events connected with the rebellion. So long as a section of the public definitely holds them guilty of provoking it, whatever conclusions they may arrive at as a result of their investigations will not be valued much by the general public. And then it has also to be remembered that a decisive tendency has always been manifest in Congress circles not only to whitewash the Mappillas and to make light of their own responsibilites, but also to fall foul of the district officials as being the persons exclusively responsible for bringing about the outbreak. This preconceived prejudice will necessarily colour their verdict to a certain extent. All the same, we would certainly prefer a Congress inquiry to having no inquiry at all".

VERNACULAR PAPERS

I-FOREIGN POLITICS

Col Indians in Ceylon.

10. In the couse of an article on this subject, a correspondent to the SUTANDIRAN, of the 15th October, refers to the resignation of all the elected members in the Ceylon Legislative

Council as a protest against the resoution about the increase of slaries to Government officials and, taking it to be a proof of the fact that all the Legislative Councils of the British are a big disappointment, chracterizes one of those members who is said to have attended the session of the council on the next day as the disciple of the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma, and observes:- The new Reforms in Ceylon provide for the nomination of one representative in the Legislative Council to safeguard the interests of Indians. This will no do. Englishmen in Ceylon number only 7,000 and, as they belong to the ruling race their intersts will be quite safe. Still, they have been given three representatives and we need not say what should be the number of representatives for the Indians who number seven lakhs. But my sincere conviction is that, whatever maybe the number of representatives in the Legislative Councils, it will serve no purpose, until there is a change in the attitude of the authorities. I had to dwell on this topic so much only to show how far the British, who profess to be the advocates of the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, abide by these principles in practice and what sympathy the Ceylonese have for us.

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION

(b) COURTS

EI British justice.

24. Under this heading, the CONGRESS, of the 19th October, says:- The judiciary of the Government has been a prop to the white-faced and protects the misdeeds of the wicked. The Criminal Procedure Code may be regarded as the FIRMAN which they can amend as they please. History will tell us how, under

such protection, many Indians have been indifferently shot dead with bullets by the westerners. Was it not British justice that afforded protection to the Agent of a tea plantation who had tried to outrage the modesty of a girl of sixteen years named Hera? Was it not British justice that considered the Christian young man innocent who shot with his pistol the father who had tried at th t moment to protect the modesty of his daughter? When Muhammadans were emigrating to Kabul, thirteen British soldiers had tortured Mahazarak Habibulla Khan and murdered him. The murderers were acquitted. These two instances have entered the very bones of the Indians. To consider our helpless state is unbearable. There is this difference shown between the Indians and the Europeans in every respect. . . . . . When such was the ordinary state of things the inhuman misdeeds of Dyer in the Pubjab opened the eyes of the people. They have kindled the fire of their prowess. They seriously stirred the Indian heart which had been sleeping as if in a stupor like the rock-snake. People have believed that the demoniacal character prevailing in the country will not be destroyed except by the establishment of SWARAJ. They have thought that there can be no shelter to stand under, unless dependence on others is burnt down by the fire of independence. A new force has therefore prevailed allover the country. Mahatma Gandhi is the embodiment of that force. He is a hero in action. He is a worm cankering the root of the Empire. By his severe looks, he is causing perturbation to the shore which is beaten by waves. Our moderate brethren had eagerly expected that injustice would disappear. . .. . Civilians who, in every way, were unobstructedly eating into the very vitals of the country with a greater freedom than in regard to their acnestral property have all at once raised a hue and cry, and agitated. The speech of Mr. Lloyd George was to Lord Reading who had held out great hopes to the moderates

and thought of carrying on the administration of the country by pacifying them at least to some extent, it was to him like the furit of a palmyra tree falling upon a sleeping jackal. As for the moderates who set their foot on the first step in order to reach the edifice of SWARAJ, the latter has tuned out to be an air-bubble and has flown away. They have tuned pale and are looking at each other's face. The righteous activity of Lord Reading has half-flown with the shaking of Mr. Lloyd George's head. In regard to the report of the Racial Differences Committee, we hea from to-day's news whispers from the west like obituary intelligence. Political policy has been an obstacle in the way of Lord Reading. He is stunned, not knowing what to do. The moderates who cannot be roused find themselves between Scylla and Charybdis.'

(h) RAILWAYS.

EI Reserved accommodation for Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

32. Referring to this subject, the DRAVIDAN, of the 23rd October, observes:- Even when there is much overcrowding in third-class compartments occupied by Indians, they are not allowed to get into the empty compartments reserved for Europeans. When all the third-class passengers pay fares at the same rate, how is it just to give special privleges to one class and cause suffering to others?

A political drama.

36. The SUKHODAYAM, of the 19th October, publishes the third scene of the 'Political Drama' entitled 'The imprisonment of the Mahatma or the victory of non-violence', abstracted

in paragraph 38 of Report No. 40 of 1922, wherein the discussion between Lord Reading and the Members of his Executive Council about the arrest of Mr. Gandhi is detailed. The Hon'ble Messrs. Sapru, Sarma and Shafi condemn, in the beginning, the idea of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi on the ground that he commands an enormous influence with the people and that his arrest may lead to serious consequences, while Sir William Vincent points out that the question to be discussed is only how to secure the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, about which the British Cabinet, have passed definite orders, and not whether his arrest will be desirable or not. On this, Mr. Sapru asserts that, if their view is not acceptable to the British Government, their suggestions need not be called for on the point and that they have not undertaken the responsibility of administration merely to act on the directions of one or two members of the Cabinet. Mr. Shafi also agrees in this view, while Mr. Sarma replies to the statement of Mr. Vincent in this connection, that the Government of India are answeable only to the British Parliament and not to the Indian public, that this might have been true before the introduction of the Montagu Reforms and that they are bound to satisfy the Indian voters after the Reforms Act. Sir Malcolm Hailey interferes at this stage and points out that the object of the Reforms Act is only to transfer some departments in the provinces to the control of popular representatives, so that they may administer them and gain experience in administration and that, when even in the Provinces the Ministers are not answerable to the voters, it is contrary to law that Messrs. Sarma and Sapru should contend that there is responsible administration in the Government of India. At this juncture

Lord Reading comes out with an appeal to the Indian members give thei consent stating that they have not the courage to oppose it and it is decided to empow r the Government of Bombay to take action against Mr. Gandhi.

Boycott of Legislative Councils.

41. The TAMIL NADU, of the 22nd October, publishes a circular of the Secretaries of the District Congress Committee at Tinnevelly, in the course of which fourteen arguments are advanced to prove that the Government have been acting unjustly in several respects and an appeal is made to the voters in Tinnevelly and Palamcottah not to vote for any candidate standing in the coming election to the Legislative Council, as, in the opinion of the committee, the Government have brought into existence the Legislative Councils only to strengthen their hands to keep the people under subjection..

(Eng & Ind) India and the British parties.

43. Observing that, as Mr. Lloyd George behaved in such a manner during his Premiership as to create a disgust in the minds of the Indians, there is o reason for the latter to regret his having been forced to resign his office, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd October, writes:- The people all over India are only expressing their joy at his disappearance, the Indians doing so on account of his not having fulfilled their aspirations in words and laid a foundation for fulfilling them. He had an opportunity of keeping his promises to the Hindus and the Muslims and endearing himself to them. But he

was afraid that he would be endangering his position by keeping his word and he decided to go back upon his assurances and to save his seat in preference to acting against the wishes of his assurances and to save his seat in preference to acting against the wishes of his Conservative supporters. The trend of events in England seems to lend support for the inference that the Conservatives maytop the list in the coming eoections and, if this proves true, India will only be jumping from the frying pan into the fire. The Conservatives have been acting against the progress of India from the time the British administration became rooted in this country. This party has never agreed to any country subject to the British rule gaining independence. Had it not been for the necessity of Mr. Lloyd George to follow the principles of this party, Mr. Montagu could perhaps have made the Indian reforms a little more liberal in effect. The conduct of Lord Peel, who is a Conservative, in regard to the Indianization of the Public Services and the Army in India and the removal of raial distinctions in the administration of justice, shows how the administr tion of this party will be prejudicail to India. While the Parliamentary Committee has recommended that the Secretaryof State for India should not interfere in matters on which the Government of India and the Indian Legislature agree, numerous instances can be quoted for Lord Peel having negatived the decisions of the Government of India. If this is possible in a Cabinet several members of which are Liberals, we need not say what our lot will be in a purely Conservative administration. for, the Conservative Party has always been for the continuance of friendly relations

with Turkey, while the Liberals have advocated the removal of Turkey from Europe. But the Conservatives may, on this account try to create a split among the Indians by satisfying the Muslims in connection with Turkey and separating them from India's struggle for SWARAJ. If our Muslim brothers remember that the aim of Turkey National Party are likely to be fulfilled only on account of the victory of Mustapha Demal, they will not be deceived.

47. Remarking that the conduct of several officials with reference to non-co-operators is getting more and more curious and that some of them are not inclined to deem these non-co-operators to be even men and evince sympathy for them as such, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 24th October, extracts from the SERVANT a note about a non-co-operator in another province having been asked to refund the allowances paid to him for his treatment for dog-bite on the statement of the police that he is a non-co-operator, and observes:- Several officials have such a hatred for non-co-operators. Will these officials note at least the warning of a District Magistrate of the United Provinces?

NCS Non-co-operators and officials.

48. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th October, refers to the comment of SWARAJYA that the Civil Disobedience Committee has not been asked to pronounce on the question of the desirability or otherwise of entry into Legislative Councils and observes:- It is the policy of the bureaucrats to assert that method adopted by them is correct even after finding out to the contrary subsequently. Their view is that an admission of a

NCS The question of entry into Legislative Councils.

mistake will afect their prestige. The people of the country who are trying to bring about a change in the predominance of the bureaucrats, should not follow a defective policy of theirs.

The Labour Party and the Non-co-operation movement.

50. Adverting to the criticism by the TIMES OF INDIA in regard to the recent speech of Mr. Chamberlain, who is stated to have raised the bogey of the great dangers that might arise if the Labour Party came into power, to the effect that it will be at once foolish and traitorous to the country to entertain such hatred towards a party which forms the bulk of the population, the SWADESAMITRAN of the 26th Oc tober, writes:- It is needless for us to say that we fully support this criticism. But, just as the Labour Party seeems to be a big bugbear to persons of the stamp of Mr. Chamberlain, the non-co-operation movement appears to be the same to our contemporaries and certain others. Nevertheless, none can deny that a majority of the public support that movement. Hence, we hope that before our contemporaries write next time in praise of the non-co-operation movement, they will call to mind the aforesaid criticism.

Non-co-operation.

56. In its leader under this heading, the MATRUSEVA, of the 13th October remarks:- . . . Our dependence and our helplessness are the root-cause of the present change in our land. . As our present war refers not only to our spiritual life but also to social, economic and political matters, ...

it has become necessary to examine how prominently this Duryodhana philosophy is preying upon us in these respects. We have indeed allowed this Duryodhana philosophy to 'roam' about at large in social matters in our country. We have been given to the evil delusion that we become fallen at the mere sight of a human being. . . . . . If you want SWARAJ, you should forthwith give up the Duryodhana's nature and remove untouchability . . . . . . Unless we kill our own Duryodhana nature, we cannot kill that of others.

AB The new wager of Mrs. Besant.

57. Referring, in a note under this heading, to the efforts of Mrs. Besant to convene a conference of the Indian leaders at Delhi, the MATRUSEVA, of the 13th October, writes:- . . . . . . At a time when all the ornaments on the body of the bureaucracy from the crest-gem down to the shoes are trembling with fear and are crying aloud with a thousand mouths that, if the non-co-operators should think of entering the Legislative Councils, they would fill them and subject them to strange tortures, though Mrs. Besant and her old and new followers may fancy on the strength of any number of councils that they have acquired the All-India leadership, non-co-operation would not, on that account, suffer any loss. . . . . We heartily request the representatives of our Legislative Councils to consult their own conscience whether there would be a gain of even half a pie, if they, who have to look helplessly on, while the Premier on the one side and the Viceroy on the other are trampling under their booted feet their pet, the constitution, submit themselves to the designs of this clever English lady and frame a great scheme. We pray to them to

consider what advantage there can be from begging with the out-stretched hand for the one-hundredth time, those great philanthropists who have throwndown the damsel of their political reputation and walked over her. . . . . .

58. In an article, under this heading, contributed by a Correspondent to the MATRUSEVA of the 13th October, observations such as the following occur:- . . . . . After the advent of the present system of Government, after the rise of the present-day vakils, courts, clerks, witnesses, sub-inspectors, brokers, and all, they (the Akalis) have tasted litigation-. . . . . . When Mahatma Gandhi had opened his mouth and spoke, the old instinct got hold of them all. . . . . With great vigour, they have formed the panchayats again. The courts have all become desolate. It has been a great trouble for the authorities. . . . . . They have said that peace is their rifle, their armour, their cannon and their deliverer. They have said "Beat us, or put us in jails, or take our lives. We shall come in batches, without moving the hand and opening the mouths. . . . . . . ". . . . . . . Though beaten with the LATHIS fitted up with brass -knobs at both ends on the face, on the sides below the chest, on the secret parts, and on the joints, and wounded, and so beaten so as to swoon, there were great men who rose up seven times and fell down.. . . . . The sons of the heroes who receive such discipline protected the British force when they were in it. When they oppose the British force to-day, they have become the peaceful heroes who are invincible for them. A lion's cub is a lion's cub.

The wonderful discipline of the Akali Sikhs.

62. Referring to the need for developing the village panchayats as a step towards the attainment of SWARAJ, a correspondent to the SWATANTRA, of the 22nd October, observes:- . . . With the western civilization, western methods also have come in with the result that the efficiency of the village life has been gradually spoiled. . . . . . . We must now try and revive the village panchayats(as a step towards the attainment) It will be well if the village congress committee fully engages itself in this work . . . . Non-co-operation is diverting the attention of the people from others to themselves. It will free us from the notion of dependence on others. Self-confidence which is an off-shoot of non-co-operation should show itself in the work of construction.. . . . . The more the constructive faculties of the people of the village are developed, the more successful will be the non-co-operation movement. By focussing all popular power at one point, the village panchayats will be able to make village life the foundation for the edifice of SWARAJ.

NCS The means of SWARAJ.

64. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 24th October, reproduces in Telugu an article from the Young India, in which, among others, the following remarks occur:- . . . It is only when we are determined to see that this servitude is gone and complete independence is attained that all will accrue . . . . . We have to understand that it is the intention of our leader that we should certainly continue this fight (of non-co-operation). We shall prosecute this to the very end.

NCS. The Non-co-operation movement: the message of Yeravada.

The moral strength of the enemy is on the wane. . . . .

The Agency riot.

65. The following are some of the remarks occurring in the course of an article under this heading written by a correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 24th October,:-

. . . . . To fight with the rioters, who are naturally possessed of good traits of character, must be regarded as opposing nature itself. . . . . The cause of the enmity is not known as yet. Nor are their vital points and their dwelling places found out. It does not appear that the weak points of the enemy have been ascertained as yet. Nor are their vital points and their dwelling places found out. It is safe to try to defeat such rioters as these by conciliation bribery and division. . . . A police officer drawing a salary of even Rs.500 cannot trace out a great rogue who has escaped into the forests, so well as a shepherd-boy does. The hostory of the Yerukala, who was notorious as a great rogue, and who escaped from the custody of the police into the forests near the village of Nellipaka in the Bhadrachalam taluk is an instance in point.

Commul. The Akalis.

70. In its leader under this heading, the GUNTUR PATRIKA, of the 24th October, writes:-

The passive resistance of the Akalis manifests the true strength of the non-co-operation movement. It has also falsified the objection that the non-co-operation movement willeventually drift into violence. . People will not in future be atheistic in regard to the cult of non-vilence. By their example, the Akalis have shown that to

those who have tasted what soulforce is like, brute-force will be detestable. . . . . . Though the violence of Chowri-Chowra had dealt a blow to the movement, the sacrifice of the Akalis made it flow with a rising tide. This rising tide has reached the Simla hill-tops and has created a stir in the Viceroy. . From this it will appear that the enemies are trying to retrace their steps. But this idea will not come out so soon. The Akali regiments must yet fight and advance still further. It seems that the Sikhs who are drawing pensions are also going on the pilgrimage. The Government servants also must start. The soldiers also must give up the 'livelihood' of violence, and jump into the sacrificial fire. Till then, the Sikhs will not become purified. Till then, noø salvation will come. . . In the Akali movement, God has shown the way to salvation. . A lover of independence has said: 'As they tighten the bonds well, so will it be the means for the breaking of our bonds.' . . . . . This will be the first instance of an entire nation getting its salvation. But, without flinching, Government must continue the violent methods. They are people who always tighten (the bonds) till they break. It is certain that the Sikhs will get liberation through their (the Governt's) ignorance. God who has resolved to give liberation to the Sikhs will never hold abck. It is our belief that He will harden the heart of the Government, as He did the hearts of the Pharoahs. The Akali movement will succeed without meeting with any obstruction.

78. Under this heading, the CONGRESS, of the 26th October, writes:- It seems that there is no limit to the severe distress which the Punjab is suffering from. There is no end

Commul. Is he the younger brother of Dyer?

to the griefs which the land of the Punjab has experienced since theyear 1919. The repression of a foreign Government is not able to bed the boblest (lit. the crest-gems of the) heroes of the Punjab, which ~~the~~ is the crest-jewel of All-India and which fully embodies in herself the qualities of Indian heroes. There is no limit to the series of hardships during the last three years. There is no end to that agony. There is no impediment to the application of cruel laws. Although the constructive programme of the Congress is being adopted, Government will not give rest to the Punjab alone. . . The afflictions which the Akalis are suffering from, have acquired world-celebrity. (The edge of) their perseverance is becoming ublunted in the same proportion as the Government officials are trying to suppress them by cruel acts and hard methods of punishment. Just as the sharpness of a diamond increases, the more it is whetted, just as gold gains a finer hue, the more it is h ated in the fire, the persistence of the Sikhs is increasing the more they suffer repression at the hands of the authorities. They struck them with sticks. They plucked out their beards. They dragged them on the ~~found~~ ground. To those who had received blows and fallen down unconcious, they gave a little water to quickly regain their consciousness and thrashed them to death, so that they might fall again. Not satisfied with all these Police officer, Mr. Betty, began to torture them in new ways. He inventing strange and astonishing methods of torture. It is said th t he is tormenting an Akali by standing on his feet with his boot 'shod with iron horse shoes', saying:- "Have you learnt sense or not?" Mr. Betty ordered one to be (his) pardon. He did not consent thereto. For that,

he had thrashed the Akali to death and, it is said, ordered him to stand the whole night and would not let him go to answer the calls of nature. It is said that he had made a man stand, left his legs apart, put a piece of wood in the middle, so that they mightnot come near and made him stand for six hours. It is said that he had caused his hands to be pushed (behind) and tied up at the bak so as to render him motonless. The blood (in us) is curdling when we think of the cruelty. Betty came from that country whence Dyer had come, Dyer who, thinking of teaching sense to India, made the noses (of her people) draw on the fround, and caused pointed pieces of wood to be driven into their anuses. That Dyer endeavoured to make the Government long-standing in the country, and Betty too is doing the very same thing now. Is not Betty then the younger brother of Dyer?

Comml. The Akali incidents.

84. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 24th October,writes:- While our Publicity Bureau is spending the poor tax-payers' money to whitewash the faults of the authorities, it has so far told us nothing as to whether the loud complaints in the press about the treatment of the Akali prisoners are true or not. But the Akalis are firm in their original resolve. Every day over a hundred of them seem prepared for the worst and go to jail. It is stated that about ten thousand of them are ready to accept imprisonment and the authoritis are accordingly preparing to receive these guests. Already a fourth of this burden is off their shoulders. The whole world is amazed at this spirit of self-

sacrifice in the Akalis. How shall we praise the obdurate attitude of our authorities who will not find a satisfactory remedy for this situation even at this stage?

SER The Inchcape Committee.

86. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 24th October, in a leading article, observes:- The inquiry by the Inchcape Committee is hardly likely to result in a just and adequate retrenchment inasmuch as offices carrying a pay of over Rs. 1,200 cannot be abolsihed without the sanction of the Secretary of State, and military expenditure is left to the Army Commission to examine. The result of the committee's recommendations will perhaps only be to reduce the number of appointments on a pay of less than Rs. 1,200 which are held by the Indians, and leave the Civil Service untouched. We should remember that blood is always thicker than water. The committee will be sure to protect the interests of their own folk andmake a show of retrenchment by concealing the real facts, and reducing the expenditure, if at all, only in so far as it affects Indians. Let those who want to support the Reforms take a lesson from this.

Non-co-operation and Government officials.

87. In an article extolling the remarks of the District Magistrate of Allahabad in a judgment reversing the Sub-Magistrate's sentence against one Gud Ram of Allahabad for assault on the ground that the severity of the sentence was due to the fact that the convicting Magistrate knew the accused to be a non-co-operator, the SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 27th October, observes:- The remarks of this officer in acquitting the accused

xfd are certainly mostly welcome. If all the officers of the Government were to bear his advice in mind, they would certainly be able to reduce the unnecessary work that is now a weight on them. That the authorities are nevertheless resorting to unfair methods in order to stifle the spirit of non-co-operation is not unfounded.

NCS Mr. Gandhi.

89. YUVABHRATHAM, of the 22nd October, in an article on 'the art of administration' criticizes the action of the authorities for imprisoning Gandhi who commands a reverence which even the King does not command. It prefaces its remarks with the observation that 'the present administration of India is being conducted in a very grand fashion indeed', points out that implicit obedience to the King is a duty only when the King behaves well, not when he is mad or cruel and wicked, and says 'to respect an administration which persecutes the innocent, harasses the poor and shuts up in prisons pure-hearted noble men is like becoming an atheiest'. It asks in conclusion:- 'Does the hmxx hollowness of British administration, which boasts of its readiness to rule in accordance with public opinion, need any better proof?'

MP The Mappilla train tragedy.

93. In an article in the MANORAMA, of the 26th September, the writer points out that the presence of Mr. Evans was a great relief to the people when the military set foot in Malabar, that this fact can be easily ascertained even to-day by any man inquiring privately in the lately disturbed area and

that the peopile both Muhammadans and Hindus will be pained at and will resent the imputation of any blame to Mr. Evans in connection with the train tragedy, while the blame for careless transport must attach to the police. The writer suggests in conclusion that the Government should render some further pecuniary help to the families of the deceased prisoners.

. FOR THE WEEK ENDING 11TH NOVEMBER, 1922.

NO. 45 OF 1922.

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) GENERAL.

The Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee.

3. SWARAJYA, of the 5th November, remarks:- "The Committee have very rightly come to the conclusion that the country is not yet sufficiently prepared for Mass Civil Disobedience. The recommendayion with regard to this vital question however takes merely a short-sighted view and does not deal with the possibility of organizing such a movement at any future time. This is not only a grave error of policitical judgment but it involves a distinct going back on the great polic which Mahatma Gandhi had enunciated. The stalemate that undoubtedly exists at the present time is due to the fat that the vision of an organized India fighting her battle without violence but in the open field against the Government and the Empire has faded in the imagination of people. That will come back only if we reinstate the possibility of mass or limited Civil Disobedience on a large scale as the ultimate object for which our preparations are meant. By ruling out that probability the Committee have agreed to what may be called a wanton sabotage of the whole programme of non-co-operation".

The Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee.

SWARAJYA, of the 6th November, states:- "It is true that our position at the present time is not such as would allow us to launch any forward movement; but at the same time it is clear that we cannot be dislodged from our entrenchments from where our constructive activities can be carried on apace. The possibility of victory in the field has ceased to be with the postponement of general Mass Civil Disobedience but the spirit of non-co-operation organized as a large body standing in open hostility is sufficent, if we have patience enough, to undo the moral position of the Government. It is this postion that Pandit Motilal Nehru and others seek now, all unwittingly, to destroy. They are not so ignorant of what the proposal means, as the clause "in accordance with the principle of non-violent non-co-operation" would imply. They frankly state that "such entry involves a material change in the programme of non-co-operation as passed at Calcutta and re-affirmed at Nagpur and Ahmedabad". In fact it means the practical abandonment of non-co-operation. The fact that such a recommendation is made by distinguished leaders who have been an honour to the movement is now likely to affect the judgment of the country The history of the last two years and a half would have been written in vain if the masses of Indian population had not by this time learnt to distinguish wheat from chaff. It is by the decision of the country at Gaya that the Report must stand for all".

The Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee.

NEW INDIA, of the 6th November observes:- "Everybody should read the minute of the Hakimji to be convinced of the fact that the members of the Committee recognize, in

the existence of the Legislaures, a formidable rival to their movement which, instead of indilging in futile threats and vague promises, are busy in Nation-building on sure foundations. They say that the negative form of Non-Co-Operation has failed to achieve the desired result in its entirety and foresee that, in the coming elections, a larger number of voters would go the poll. Entering the Councils, in their opinion, is necessary for carrying out the constructive programme of the Congress, especially as further evils could be prevented. All this implies a recognition of the value of the Councils. A great opportunity has been missed by the Civil Disobedience Committee; the evidence given before it in regard to the very little extent to which the constructive programme has been carried out, and the general unpreparedness of the masses to anything beyond shouting, should have induced the committee to boldly affirm the impracticability of converting all Indians to saints, and the danger of inculcating ideas of law-breaking. The report merely repeats the necessity of achieving the constructive programme, without saying how that would lead to SWARAJ. No definite lead is given except that implied in the negative and futile policy. SWARAJ is, indeed, as distant as ever".

The Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee.

The HINDU, of the 8th November, remarks:- "That the report of the C.D. Enquiry Committee would have a mixed reception was naturally to be expected. On the one hand, the feeling is that it is not 'as bad as we feared', on the other that it is not "as good as we expected". That it preserved a mean course between these extremes of apprehensions and antici-

pations is perhaps its best credential to the accpptance of the country at large. It has pleased neither the fire-eaters nor the faint-hearts. Any attempt to envisage things as they are generally suffers from this defect but it is occasionally a useful corrective toknow how things exactly stand, and to descend on occasion into the world of realities, from the clouds of make-believe. Such rude jolts are inevitable in political life and their severity depends upon the degree of detachment from realities that one has managed to cultivate. Even Mahatma Gandhi whose optimism is tempered by sound political sense had his disappointments and, like the wise general that he is, never forgot that if he and his country had a star to follow, the road they must tread on was of the earth, earthy and the many mutations which the Non-Co-operation programme has undergone is sufficient testimony to his tactical adaptability".

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

Col — Indians in Africa.

9. Reamrking that the Indians, who live in several parts of Africa, suffer from want of equal privileges and referring to a conference recently held by the Indians in East Africa and to the several resolutions passed therein, the DRAVIDAN, of the 2nd November, asks whether the white Government of that country will at least hereafter pay heed to the legitimate demands of the Indians there, and observes:- We urge that the British Government should render us justice.

In short, the Indians should be given equal privileges in all respects throughout the British Empire. If they do not grant our wish in this matter, it is certain that it will be difficult for them to preserve peace in the British Empire hereafter.

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) POLICE.

The Malabar Police

16. Under the heading 'The aftermath of the rebellion', the KERALA SANCHARAI, of the 1st November, remarks that rumour is current more than usual in many parts even now, that during the martial Law administr tion and even afterwards, as opportunity occurred, some police officers have received money from several persons on various pretex s, and that in certain cases it is unbelievable while in certain others it cannot but be believed.

The speech of Mr. M. V. Subrahmanya Sastri.

Ncs

28. The SUKHODAYAM, of the 26th October, publishes a speech delivered by Mr. M. V. Subramanya Sastri at Tiruvannamalai on the 21st idem, wherein the follwing observations find place among others:- We demand SWARAJ. It is but proper that every man should enjoy his birthright in the land of his nativity. This is also the will of God. No one can prevent this. No wise man can deny the truth of this. But the alien Government, under which we live, say that we are not yet fit and that the question may be considered when we attain such fitness.

The speciality and glory of non-co-operation consist in

the principle that no Government can be carried on without the co-operation or consent of the public. And it will be inconsistentto characterize a Government which has forfeited the consent of the public as civilized. An alien rule cannot stand in the absence of our help. So long as proper punishment is not meted out to the officials that caused dishonour and misery to our brethren in the Punjab without any justification therefor and that killed innocent people in the Jallian wallah Bagh, how can we co-operate with the bureaucracy? How can we help a Government that sets our unanimous opinions at naught? How can we assent to co-operate so long as the injustice to KHILAFAT continues in respect of the forty crores of Mussalmans in the world in general and the seven crores of Muslims in India in particular? Though many people ridiculed Mr. Gandhi when he started the non-co-operation movement, a new and wonderful change made its appearance the very next moment. Distinctions of caste, creed and colour disappeared on account of the teaching of the vital MANTRA of VANDE MATARAM, and brotherly love dawned in their stead. And the authrorities took fright at such a change and at the influence of Mr. Gandhi, seeking that all their ideas had been frustrated. Hence, they endeavoured to put down the patriots by means of their repressive measured. The consequence was that 25,000 patriots entered jail and the prison-house turned into the house of penance for SWARAJ. Still, the people did not lose courage. Finally, Mr. Gandhi too was clapped in jail. But, the Government were not powerful enough to crush his teachings

and influence. Repression is the sign of our victory. There is not the slightest doubt that the bject of the Government has not been fulfilled and they themselves have acknowledged the victories of the non-co-operation movement.

29. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th October, publishes the the speech of Mr. V. V. S. Ayyar, the President of the Lalgude Taluk Conference, held on the 23rd idem, wherein, the following observations find place among others:- Our Mother Bharata has no special flag of her own. It is essential that this country should have a flag containing the insignia of all calsses, the Hindus, the Muhammadans and the Christians. It is the flag which gives prominence to a country. If we get SWARAJ, we shall have our flag. . We have come to such a humiliating postion that the emigrants from India to other countries are called coolies. . . . It is this country which established righteousness; now people are induced to drink toddy and the rules of righteousness are set at naught by their unnecessarily resorting to courts. I understand that the police tried to prevent the holding of the conference at this place and that they threatened those who gave room. Is this justice? The rule of the kings in the time of our ancestors and the trend of the administration at the present day may be seen even on the stage. . . . . Just as MAHA VISHNU incarnated on earth as Lord Krishna and helped the people, Mahatma Gandhi has incarnated with all the virtues of the Lord. Hence, we should all follow the teachings of the Mahatma, display a spirit of sacrifice in some measure and work for SWARAJ.

NCS The speech of Mr. V. V. S. Ayyar.

Press. A circular of the Punjab Government.

31. Reproducing in Tamil the circular issued by the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government to the heads of all departments, that His Excellency the Governor in Council considers it desirable that when Government servants are defamed in the press for their public acts, proceedings should be lauched against the editors and the proprietors of the newspapers concerned for defamation, the NAVASAKTI, of the 27th October, observes:- In other provinces, also, proceedings of this kind are being taken. So it may be inferred that all Provincial Governments may, with the sanction of the Government of India, send a circular of this kind to the heads of departments under them. If Government servants are defamed, they will themselves proceed against the newspapers for defamation and they have a right to do so. This need not be taught to them by anyone. But it is strange on the part of the Government themselves to say that the Government officials can take proceedings for defamation and to promise all possible help in the matter. We need hardly point out to our friends that this method of taking proceedings for defamation is more cruel then the Press law. If all the Provincial Governments had issued a circular of this kind, the bureaucrats might congratulate themselves on it.

Entry into Legislative Councils.

34. The TAMIL NADU, of the 29th October prints with an explanation under the initial '(V)' the picture of a rat-trap representing Legislative Councils at the open door

of which a rat with a human head representing Mr. Kelkar stands invinting people to enter the trap while another rat of a similar form representing Mr. Patel warns Mr. Kelkar against entering the same as it is a trap, wherein service can be rendered only to the Government and not to the country.

The TAMIL NADU, of the 29th October, contains a dialogue on the same subject under the inital '(V)' between an old man and a youth who makes the following observations among others in his reply to the questions of the former as to the benefits accruing from the work done in the Legislative Council by the representatives of the people:- Suffering has been the only result. The post-card that was sold before for a quarter of an anna now sells at half an anna. The match-box which sold for a quarter of an anna now sells at four pies. Railway fares have risen half as much again. An additonal tax of about 32 crores of rupees has now been imposed. After the establishment of the new Legislative Councils, twenty-five thousand persons inclusive of Mr. Gandhi have been confined in jail.

Condemning the idea of certain Congress leaders that the boycott of Legislative Councils should be excluded from the Congress programme, the TAMIL NADU of the 29th October, observes:- The boycott of schools has ended in nothing Litigation is gradually increasing. The rich man has no love for the poor. The only God he worships is the Government. It is the innate chracteristic of the rich man to be subservient to the SIRKAR, be it German or Russian SIRKAR, and make a

living thereby. Poor people stand boldly for the advancement of the country. But the votes of Legislative Councils are almost all of them in the hands of the poor people alone. The voters hate the Legislative Councils. The Congress workers, both within and without the jails, are fully intent on the boycott of Legislative Councils, and it may be said that the very life of non-co-operation is the boycott of Legislative Councils. . . . . . SWARAJ has not yet been achieved. Mr. Gandhi and hundreds of other patriots are being dishonoured in jails. The KHILAFAT misery has not yet disappeared. Complete relief cannot be secured by the small victory gained by Kemal Pasha. Justice has not been rendered for the Punjab massacres. The Government have not acknowledged their faults and we see no signs that they seek for peace. Repression is very much in evidence. Those that entered the Legislatice Councils in violation of the mandate of the Congress have not been able to do even the least good to the country up to date. The Legislative Council was not able to sanction even a light to Mr. Gandhi in the Yeravada Jail. . . . . Though the members of the Legislative Assembly refused to pass the Press Act which was intended to protect the Indian princes, the Viceroy exercised his powers and made it into law. Though the members of the Bengal Legislative Council passed a unanimous resolution for the release of patriots such as Mr. C. R. Das, the Governor of Bengal did not sanction it. Several such instances may be quoted. We can now confidently assert that no trouble can be caused to the Government by means of the Legislative Councils nor can any service to the country be rendered with their aid. In these circumstances, where is the justice in the demand that the boycott of Legislative

Councils shoud be given up? Those, who advocte this, state that the moderates and the men of the 'Justice' party who have no patriotism--who have no manliness-obtain seats in the Legislative Councils and cause great harm to the country and that such a thing should therefore be prevented. True, But if the patriots enter the councils and make efforts to do good to the country or to bring the Government to a stand-still, the latter have got powers to dissolve the Legislative Councils and ~~xxxx~~ carry on the administration. The view of the Government is only to augment their fame, reputation and prestige by means of such councils and it is not their principle to carry on the admi istration with their aid. If the non-co-operators enter the Legislative Councils, offer non-co-operation therein an d cross the path of the Govenment, the latter too will, on their part, offer non-co-operation with them and send them out. And what is the use derived by the country by following this course? None. If the wheel of the administrative machinery is to be stopped and is to be worked in favour of the subjects, it only the Congress that will be a fitting instrument therefor. It is the duty of the leaders in the coming Congress to discover the means for accomplishing such an end.

Entry into Legislative Councils

The SWADESAMITRAN discusses, in its issues of the 31st October and 1st and 3rd November, the advisability of an alteration of the programme of non-co-operation so as to permit the entry of non-co-operators into Legislative Councils and makes the

follwing observations among others:- As several leaders and papers devoted to the non-co-operation movement have come forward to support his view, the public are bound to examine the question whether it is necessary to remove this item from the Congress programme. Buth the non-co-operators and the non-co-operating papers have been watching the proceedings of the Legislative Councils, which are carried on by false representatives whoare masquerading as the real ones. And, by the very act of the voters electing non-co-operators, they can discard such bogus represntatives. Non-co-operation begins with the cessation of all voluntary participation in the Government and ends with the non-payment of taxes. And why should not Legislative Councils be availed of for preparing the people for such non-co-operation? The people in other countries, who have fought for liberty like ourselves, have followed such a course. As non-co-operation is but a principle or amethod, however difficult it may be to adopt in the Legislative Councils, such adoption cannot be said to be impossible. And it will be a mistake to think that the mere giving up of the boycott of councils is tantamount to the giving up of non-co-operation itself. As already remarked by us, bogus representatives syle themselves as the genuine ones and co-operate with the Government who are augmenting their authority by means of their co-operation. And it is necessary to carry non-co-operation into the Legislative Councils in order to put a stop to such co-operation which is a stumbling block t/our winning SWARAJ.

In a leaderette decrying the idea of some people to

enter the Legislative Councils, the SUKHODAYAM, of the 2nd November, writes:- None can deny that India has not gained any self-respect, equal status or liberty as a result of the new reforms. On the other hand, theold position has become worse. Rates of postage have increased and the salaries and pensions of the I.C.S. officials have been raised. The public debt has grown by crores. The poverty of the country has increased. The Secretary of State has pronounced against the removal of racial distinctions in the administration of justice. . . . . . The present members of Legislative Councils are not the representatives of the people. They have not the capacity to fulfil our aspirations. But this is not due to their mistake but to that of the law. As long as the system of diarchy continues, no benefit can result from the efforts of any one, be it Sivaswami Ayyar or Sastri or Das or Moti Lal Nehru. The greatest service to the country will be, therfore, to boycott the Montagu scheme which has become a lifeless body. SWARAJ will not be obtained by getting into Legislative Councils, which deprive the people of their birth-rights. Those who enter the Councils practically forsake the Congress, the country and themselves.

The entry into the Legislative Councils.

Strongly advocating the entry of the non-co-operators into the Legislative Councils during the ensuing elections, in its leader, the TRILINGA, of the 28th October, observes:- . . . . . . The party which forms the majority in the councils is actually carrying on the Government at the present day. For that reason, Messrs. Srinivasa Ayyangar and Bhargri

had to come out seeing that they could do nothing from within them. But now, the nationalists are prepared to enter them only in the full belief that they can form a majority there. . . . . . . Nobody wants to get into the Legislaive Councils with a view to put an end to the non-co-operation movement. On the other hand the nationalists wish to do so merely to continue that movement there. Are we really non-co-operating with the Government just now? Except not going to the polling-booths for recording our votes, are we not co-operating every day to perpetuate the powers of the members of the Legslative Councils, ever since the time of their coming into them? Are we not treating with the utmost respect the resolutions passed by the Legislative Councils and carrying them out? Are we not paying the taxes which they have imposed? Without offering any obstruction to the arbitraty acts (of the Govenment), and creating a lull in (all the political activities) of ourselves we have greatly contrin uted to the continuance of their administration. Though our goal has been to make the Government impossible, and bring it to a stand-still, did the item of the boycott of the councils help us till now to attain it even to a little extent? . . . . . . If we enter them now, we may create dead-locks, and make the administration impossible. We may end the Legislative Councils before the expiry of their legitimate term and bring about the holding of new elections. We may see that no Bill is approved by the Legislative Council, and make His Excellency the Governor enforce laws on his own responsibility. . . . . . . Though we form the majority, we may not accept the ministerships; and when the Governor

appoints men of his own choice for a period of six months, we may refuse to grant them their salaries, pass no resolutions for them to carry out, give them no financial help, and thus compel them to resign their ministerships, and go. In short, if the nationalists are in a majority, they xxxx can make the Government impossible in a year. Already, we have 'misappropriated' the moral prestige of the Government. If we should make His Excellency use in every matter, the extraordinary powers vested in him, we will certainly be obstructing the Royal road they (the authorities) are just now taking. They will then have to xxx scale the walls and take the bye-paths. How long can they do so? According to their own scheme and even by following constitutional methods, we will be in a position to 'misappropriate' their prestige. May the standing Congress Committee which is to meet in November take all these into consideration!

The entry into the Council.

A correspondent to the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 28th October, gives the following as the objections and the ex/lanations of those who~~o~~ oppose entering the councils and of those who support it respectively:-

(1) EXPLANATION:- We will have to repent for persuading during the last elections 80 per cent of the voters not to vote and for sending only moderates to the councils. For, though elected by a few, the members pose themselves as our representatives. Those who nod assent like cowards to the words of the Ministers and who cannot speak boldly and strongly have filled the councils. Many of these are incapable and are men of slave mentality. If, on the

other hand, proper men are elected, though they may not do anything at present, the disapproval of the people will be published to the world, the system of Government will be strongly criticized till one's anger is wreacked, and the carrying on of the administration will always be obstructed. This is also a method of warfare in the political arena.

(2) OBJECTION:- However talented the men sent to the councils may be, so long as the bureaucracy has the reins in its hands, the present reforms cannot help us in the attainment of SWARAJ.

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(4) OBJECTION:- It ~~isxiM~~ is impossible that those who go to the Legislative Councils will resort to civil disobedience. Unless civil disobedience is launched some day, SWARAJ cannot be attained.

The entry into the Council.

Under this heading, the BALABHARATI, of the 20th October, publishes a Telugu version of an article contributed in English By Mr. V. D. Balvi to the MAHARATTA of Poona. The article contains observations such as the following:- . . . . . If the Congress party sets up candidates for elections, it should take certain pledges from them. Those candidates, if successful in the eoections, must agree to prepare their electorates for civil resistance (SATYGRAHA) and to put into effect, if necesary, even the withholding of the payment of taxes under some restrictions. . . . . When

all the Legislative Councils are filled with the nationalists, a great clash with the Government is inevitable even before the end of a year. . . . . . . When even the repetition of this occurrence (the nationalist members resigning in a body, standing up at fresh elections and returning to the councils) fails thrice to fulfil our wish, all the nationalists in a body should send an ultimatum to the Government, namely, that if the Government should flout public opinion even the fourth time, the members would intoroduce mass civil disobedience and the non-payment of taxes into their several electorates. If the Government do not yield even then, they must give effect to this ultimatum and be prepared for the consequences. This is a scheme which I humbly submit for criticism.

Do not enter the Legislative Councils.

In an article under this heading appearing in the SWATANTRA, of the 29th October, the following remarks occur:- . . . . Was the object with which the movement was started realized? While we see and hear the Akalis suffer all hardships, can we lay the hand on the heart and assert that the cruel deeds formerly perpetrated in the Punjab will never recur at any time in the future? Take it for granted that the KHILAFAT problem has been very nearly solved. Is it the KHILAFAT or the SWARAJ, which occupies an important place in our programme? . . . . . . Under these circumstances, how can we enter the Legislative Councils which are the 'chief organs' for the injustice of the British administration ? If, after we enter the councils and oppose the measures

there, the authorities still continue to do as they please, should we resume our original path, with a slap on our cheeks? Have we forgotten so soon the behaviour of the Viceroy in regard to the Press Act? Besides, inasmuch as the people who went tojail are ineligible for membership in the council how will it be possible for us to firm a majority in it? Suppose a new measure is enacted preventing the non-co-operators from getting in at all, what is to be done? . . . We also know for certain that the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, one of the Ministers in the United Provinces, will resign his ministership from the 10th November, for he has found out the futility of the Legislative Councils.

SIR WILLIAM VINCENT.

(1) In 1918, he snet a report to England against India.

(2) In 1919, he created the Rowlatt Act and brought into edistence the Indemnity Act for protecting the persons who wrought injustice in the Punjab from punishment. He was the parent of the Hunter Committee.

(3) 1919-21 -- He whitewashed the Punjab massacre.

(4) In 1920-21, he wrought in justice to Turkey.

(5) 1920 -22-- He sang the praises of the new Reforms and reviled the non-co-operators to his heart's content.

(6) 1921-- He abused the Ali brothers.

(7) 1921-22-- He reviled Mr. Gandhi.

(8) He supported the bureaucracy fax from 1902--1922.

(9) He was the patron-saint of generations of Viceroys Like Lord Curzon, Sydenham and Chelmsford, who were possessed of the devil of imperialism.

38. Adverting to an advertisement in a Bombay paper inviting applications from Europeans for the post of a gate-keeper in a Government office on a salary of Rs. 250 -10-300 per mensem, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 30th October, remarks:- We are indeed aware of certain posts being reserved for Europeans; but we do not know why the Government wants a European even for a gate-keeper's place. Perhaps, it is their opinion that Indians are not fit even for this place.

EI A European gate-keeper for the Government.

41. Referring in a leader, under this heading, to some Englishmen as well as the Anglo-Indian papers including the MADRAS MAIL prejudicing the minds of Indian Muslims to the effect that the authority of the KHILAFAT is defied by the nationalist Turkish Government in the same manner as the authority of the Pope was defied in Rome, the SAIPHUL ISLAM, of the 2nd November, observes:- The Government of Angora Turkey are not capable of doing anything which will bring dishour to the Sultan of Turkey, as the British and the Anglo-Indian press think. The great statesman, Khagi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, is one who will do everything in consonance with the wishes of the Muslims of the world and the honour of Islam. Now, the Indian Muslims should not become decieved by the vain aspersions cast by non-Muslims upon the Government of Angora Turkey.

A warning to the Indian Muslims.

43. Adverting to the order of the Government of Madras, with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India, allowing the officials, ho worked during the six months when

Additonal leave for Martial Law officials in Malabar.

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Martial Law was administered in Malabar, an extraordiarry leave for one-fifith of te period that they served there and to the news that the question of granting a bonus, in lieu of such oeave, to those officials that receive a monthly salary of less than Rs. 35 is under consideration, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 3rd Nobember, observes:- We cannot refrain from grieving over the fact that the same interest as is evinced by the Government in the matter of showing such favour to their officials is not taken by them in regard to tracing the cause of the distrubances in Malabar. Several causes are attributed for those disturbaces. Further, complaints have been made against certain officials also. If the Government have the idea of preventing the occurrence of similar disturbances in the future, they are bound to institute an immediate inquiry in respect of these points and take efficient steps in the matter.

Khil. The Ali brothers.

43. In a leader dialting upon the excellences of these brothers and wishing them long life and success in their efforts the NAVASAKTI, of te erd November, writes:- Mr. Gandhi is waging the war of non-co-operation in the field of SATYAGRAHA bearing the two weapons of truth and fearlessness in his hands, and these two weapons can occupy high positions in the bureaucrtic sphere by means of their influence and exucation. When, without caring for such positions, they have sacrificed their all for libertyl truth and religion and are living in prison, what can we say of their greatness?

A political drama.

46. The SUKHODAYAM, of the 2nd November, publishes the fourth scene of the 'political drama' referred to in paragraph 36 of Report No. 44 of 1922, wherein Lord Reading discusses

with the Governor of Bombay the desirability of arresting Mr. Gandhi. The former wishes to know from the latter the situation in Bombay to which the latter says that the work of non-co-operation has become more actice since the arrest of the Ali brothers, that the people have come to lose all regard for the police and all fear of the prison and that all this is due to the propaganda carried on by Mr. Gandhi through the YOUNG INDIA. He adds that, unless Mr. Gandhi, who wields an enormous influence with the people, is arrested, the administration of the country will be brought into contempt. As regards the doubt expressed by Lord Reading whether the arrest may not lead to excesses, the Governor of Bombay says that, if excesses are committed, they can be quelled easily and they will at the same time give a handle for the Government to plead that non-co-operation is not non-violent and condemn it. He is for considering the consequences of the arrest after the same is effected and wants only to have sufficeint tropps and ammunition with him to be prepared for any contingency. Lord Reading acquiesces in this view and directs the arrest of Mr. Gandhi.

Songs in praise of the Ali brothers.

48. The SAPHUL ISLAM, of the 4th ~~Oct~~ November publishes a poem on this subject from the same correspondent, wherein te following matter finds place among others:- These are the persons that witnessed the misery of the sons of India, explained it to the gentlemen in England, and, witnessing their unrelenting nature, demanded a life of liberty for us....

They became agonised in mind at sight of the machinations of the whites every day and went once as emissaries of the KHILAFAT.

The time of testing.

50. In its leader under this heading, the CONGRESS, of the 26th October, says:- When under the leadership of Chitta Ranjan, thousands went to jail, Government was rather stunned. At last, Mahatma Gandhi also was imprisoned. But yet, there was no violence. Pandit Malavya exhorted the people, telling them that they should not, rest till the Government which had imprisoned the greatest man was made to yield and SWARAJ was established. While some were under the false impression that non-co-operation had cooled down, the Andhras at Guntur gave evidence before the Civil Disobedience Committee that it was false.. . . . . It is the object of those who wish to enter the councils to collide with the Government, and create dead-locks. But hose who believe that they have a conscience will not relish it. . . . . Conscience has been ghe fuide of the Mahatma in his movement. But the object of those who wish to enter the councils and create deadlocks, is to set aside their conscience, and conveniently defeat the enemy. the Andhras have declared at Chittorr that the boycott of the Legislative Councils is the very foundation of the non-co-operation movement. As stated by Pandit Malavya, non-co-operation is indeed the expression of our disapproval by action. . . . The ministry that condemned the Turks, abused the Muhammadans and showered fire over the non-co-operation movement has given up its arrogance, consents to enter into a treaty with Turkey, and signs the temporary treaty. All Indians have to note what a great vicgory this is for us. It is plain that, even in regard to the Punjab problem, victory is in sight for us.

The Punjabis who rurned their backs to the bullets and took to their heels five years ago, who ,abandoning their dignity and manliness, crawled upon their bellies, have not this day given themselves up to anger, although they have been sujected to beatings with the LATHIS, and blood has been flowing in streams from their bodies in great confusion. With purity of mind and bodness of heart, they have been manifesting, in an unparalleleled way, the triumph of non-violence preached by the Mahatma, and are victory will the non-co-operation movement score indirectly if not directly? At any rate, the great a wakening which has come upon the country bears testimony to the faft that the non-co-operation movement has met with success. All countries are watching the progress of the movement with sympathy. . . Oh! Indian brethren! You have been put to a test. It is to be decided at Gaya whether you will come out successful or you are to continue to be immeresed in permanent salvery, without rurning to account the victories already won.

The Gurukabagh affair.

53. Referring to the conduct of the Government officials in the Akali struggle, a correspondent ot the TRILINGA, of the 28th October, observes:- . . . . . . One boy Monsing, who had admitted his having delivered a speech on the 29th was taken to a tent at about 9 p.m. There a LATHI was placed on his anus(?), while his hands were drawn backwards and tied up. He was thus made to keep his legs stretched wide apart and reamin in that position all through the night. . . . .. Four other Akalis cried out 'Sat Sri Akal' For this, the hari of their beards was plucked out, and they were also given a good beating. . . . . While a Jatha was passing along the road, a motar-car of the police was driven

Comml.

over them, with the result that Pakir Sing fell down and received a severe injury on the head. But the car drove itslef away making triumphant sounds.

Labour unions.

54. Under this subject, the same correspondent writes to the TRILINGA, of the 28th October, thus:- . . . . . As the labour unions had begun to spread in th country, the mangers of factories found themselves in various troubles. As the nationalists were the chief persons to establish and conduct these unions, the Government interfered with them, and proffered help to the managers of factories in putting them down. It was therefore impossible for the labour unions to be run on idependent lines. The authorities played a trick and said, that they would recognize only those unions in which none other than the labourers themselves had taken part. As all the unions in Madras had agredd to this, much of their influence wanted. As the independent advice to the members of his calss, for, if the authrorities think that he is acting in opposition to them, they will at once try to send him out of office. That being so, he will always be partial to the authorities and will have no opportunity to consider impartially the interests of the labourers. We are very glad that the Trameaymen's union in Bombay has refused to yield to similar tricks played by the authrorities there.

NCS Legislative Councils.

58. Under this heading, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 28th October, writes:- Neither the All-India Congress Committee nor its offspring, the Disobedience Committee has the power to cancel the boycott of the Legislative Councils confirmed

in three successive sessions of the Congress. Only the Congress, and not its committees, has the authority to alter them. . . . . . Dr. Ravindranath Tagore has defined the 'moderate' and the 'extremist' thus:- "The moderate approaches the table of the master and wags his tail for the crumbs of bread, whereas the extremist loudly barks like a dog. The result is the same for both. Both receive kicks on their backs wihout fail". The non-co-operation movemnt has converted the extremists into the nationalists. Abandioning barking, the latter have begun to manifest their very noble soul-force. . . . . The Mahatma has preached the doctrine that, by the force of penance, the bonds of servitude will break. . . . The people are forgetting that it is the same whether they speak in a low tone or bark loudly in the Legislative Councils. As stated by Sarojini Devi, the councils are temples of illusion. Yhey have but a single gate, which will remain open till one enters them. When once a man enters them, he sees no way to get out of them. There can be nothing more insane than to say that what non-co-operation has not done in two years, mere speaking aloud in the councils will do. . . . . . (Here the paper relates the s toryof the secret love of Unnissa, the daughter of Aurangazin, for Sivaji) When Sivaji would abandon his duty and accept service under the foreign rule,however great that service may be, that very moment his beauty, prowess, justice, patriotism, cow-protection, would all desert him, and such a Sivaji Unnissa did not love and could not marry. . . . . Will the non-co-operators enter the temples of illusion and be caught in their bonds? Where is non-co-operation anylonger, and where is soul-force? Service under the foreign rule alone is their lot.

59. Under this heading, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 28th October, reports Doctor Rabindranath Tagore to have

NCS Mendicancy will not do.

written as follows to a friend from London in 1920:- We are crushed under the feet of the avaricious Englishmen. Seeing their strength, they have forgotten themselves. I have to-day understood that an unscrupulous, unrelenting, horrible and cruel nature is imbedded in the blood, the bones and the marrow of every Englishman. Those of the human form here regard the act of bloodshed of Dyer as a very meritorious act fit to take delight in. My hair stands on end when I think in this connection of the ruthless thirst for cold blood shown by women. . . . It is our fortune that the English are not generous. Death is to be preferred to the extending of our hands to accept alms from men like the English. . . . . The moderates and the extremists alike receive from the master blows and kicks on their backs. Both have equally the crumbs of bread slipping from the master's table. For these, they quarrel among themselves. Under such circumstances, the kicks of the master with his booted leg tends more to our well-being.

66. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 1st November, writes:- . . . The increased strength of the

RA Repression.

people is shown by the repression of the authorities which has spread throughout the country. The methods of repression which the authorities are adopting show clearly that they have not cahanged their heart. That Hon'ble Mr. Sarma is supporting the policy adopted by the authorities. . . . Wieth Mr. Bonar Law and Viscount Peel in England and some

conservative, who may herafter be appointed as the Viceroy in India, the tide of repression will spread from the Himalayas to Cape Commorin. An unbearable evil may befall the country very soon. . . . . .

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The failure of the Reforms; the message of Mr. K. C. Roy.

68. Reviewing the article contributed to the INDIAN REVIEW by Mr. K- C. Roy on the 'futulity' of the Reforms, in its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 3rd November, observes:- . . . . Mr. Roy opened his article with a quotation from Mr. Wells. Mr. Wells has pointed out that nowhere in the world there appears the repression which is being carried on in India, that the British will have to bend their heads in shame for not paying heed to India's future prosperity and that they have made India stagnant without allowing her to move forward. When Mr. Wells is telling us that nowhere in the world the rights of the people have been so violated as here, no further proof is required.

Mr. Gandhi.

74. The HITAKARINI, of the 30th October, reproduces in Telugu from the NEW REPUBLIC an article in which appear the follwing remarks:- Mr. Gandhi is believed to be capable of stopping the british bullet. The people of the east are strong in their imaginative powr. But we are all hero-worshippers. We eare a fig for a great man. T o praise him we require some superhuman strength. Soldiers crowd upon the enemy tents with superhuman strength.

77. Commenting on the speech delivered by Colonel Crawford,

RA — The punishment with the cane.

Secretary to the European Association of Calcutta, under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 6th November, writes:- Colonel Crawford said that, if Indian institutions should grow gradually, Europeans should not give up punishing India with the cane. Perhaps the 'child' of India has not acquired wisdom yet, though beaten incessantly with cane for the last onehundred years!

78. Reviewing the report of the Civil Disobedience Committee in its leader, under this

The Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee.

heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 6th November, remarks. . . . The members of the committee have decided that the country is not in a condition to start mass civil disobedience. This fact was known even before. the inquiry committee ought to have stated clearly how far the people are ready, what they should do to prepare themselves, what the present defect is, and what the remedy for it is. The upshot of the present inquiry committee appears to be no better than the result of inquiry committees appointed by the Government.

79. Referring to the non-co-operation movement in general

NCS — The non-co-operation movement.

and to the spread of the movement also in Ceylon, the SAMPAD ABHMUDHAYA, of the 4th November, in a leading article, writes:- Righteousness is the only standard by which people are judged and respected at the present day. Birth and wealth are no longer respected by the masses who believe that

those who are seized with the greed of wealth and terrotory are sure to be consumed by the flames of a world conflagration. The misdeeds of the bureaucrats are the prime cause of this feeling among the people. The tide of SATYAGRAHA has begun to rise. Great leaders whose function it is to check the onset of this tide manifest themselves in this world under different forms. In India Gandhi, Das, Pal, Lal and others are engrossed in service with complete selfessness. Already the smoke is rising from the smouldering fire of a world conflagration. Any time this may burst into a blaze. But the incarnate Mahatmas mentioned avove are already busy extinguishing the flames with their messages of peace. Emperors, rulers and others in authority should take a hint from the trend of the situation and try in time to save themselves from the world-blaze. Should they fail to do so, they will share the fate of the Russian Emperor. May god grant them the good sense to avoid it.

The non-co-operation movement.

Referring to the news of the annulment of the right of talukdarship enjoyed by one Gopaldas Ambadas Desai, a Guzeat chief, beeasue of his identifying himself with the non-co-operation movement, the SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 3rd November, writes:- If the allegations against Mr. Desai and his sympathy for the non-co-operation movement are a sufficient justification for the Bombay Government to resort to such repressive action, then no one can fail to see how unstabel are the rights enjoyed by the subjects of the Empire and th feudatory chiefs. In the face of events of this kind what shall we call the avowals of concern for the interests of the princes which prompted the authorities to pass a new Press law? The moral that we can draw from all this is that the British authorities are full of disguises which

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they can change to suit each occasion, but the central idea behind them all is always to pursue their own selfish interests.

SWARAJ.

80. The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 3rd November, referringto the release of one D. K. Bhardawaj, a political offender, from jail, remarks:- There can be no doubt that, if notnow, in the near future at least, the sufferings of the twenty to twenty-five thousand patriots who are in jail, sundered from their hearth and home, will bear fruit. We should not lost faith in our effort beacause the work of those who have already suffered imprisonment has not brought us SWARAJ as yet. It cannot but be calear to far-sseing men that the country is being continually brought nearer and nearer SWARAJ. We have, therefore, no need to despair.

Ali brothers' day.

82. In a call for the observance of 'Ali brothers' day', the Muslim of the 23rd October, thus describes the brothers:- At the very utterance of whose names does the British Government tremble and every self-respecting Muslim and every Indian fe l a quickening trmor passing through his body, whose arrest added a hundred-fold strength to the non-co-operation movement, whose trail brought the British Lion to his knees, whose case exposed the true from of the British love of justice? -- the same brothers.

Khil KHILAFAT AND SWARAJ.

83. The MUSLIM,of the 26th October, in its leading article under this heading points out that merely because the Turks have won back their own land, it shoudd never be surmised

that the KHILAFAT question has been solved. The KHILAFAT wrongs cannot be considered as remedied till the whole of the Arabian peninsula has gone back to the Khalif. . . Even if the KHILAFAT frievances were remedied, Indain Muslims would not refrain from agitation for liberty. It is the duty of all to preserve the liberty of their mother country. Liberty is the birthright not merely of Tilak and Gandhi but also of Muhammad and Shaukat..... . . So Indian Muslims will stand by their Hindu brethren and fight for liberty. They will not turn back till their birth right is secured.

The SWARAT, of the 27th October, in a long leading article under the same heading discusses the same subject from the Hindu standpoint and arrives at the same conclusion. This affects not only Muhammadans but all Indians. It is a question not of religion but of patriotism. The article points out that the Punjab, in which 'one or two Europeans dealt satanic infliction onour brothers' simply because the authoritis had the arrogance arising from the notion that Indians -- whatever anybody may do to them-- have no more power than merely to look on and suffer, and the KHILAFAT have the same root cause, and that no righting of external wrongs can remedy India's ills but only the uprooting of the tree of bondage. It concludes with the remark that Hindus and Muslims will work together until that is secured by the establishement of SWARAJ.

Press Punjab circular on newspapers.

84. SWARAT, of the 27th October, has an editorial note under the heading 'evil doing repeated' in which it comments adversely on the action of the Punjab Government in issuing

a circular to their officers instructing them to prosecute newspapers which publish any defamatory matter about them and promsing financial support. It says that it will be clear from this cirfular how much the bureaucracy relisheds the merciless persecution of newspapers. After pointing out the mischievous resuts of such an order, it observes:- Is it that the bureaucracy must continue to repress the people of India as they please after having in this way destroyed the freedom of the press? Is it that we people must put up with it all, however the authorities maybehave? No, that cannot be. Not at all. That is why the people of India have begun to run with great speed towards the goal of SWARAJ.

Khil. The duty of the KHILAFAT committees.

86. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 7th November, in a sub-leader commenting on this subject, says that the duty of all the KHILAFAT committees in this Presidency should be not to lack behind in understznding the revolution of the world. They should maintain silence as regards the taunts and insulting language used by the Anglo-Indian press. The action taken by Angora is justlike a heap of ashes; it is possible that it may have a spark of fire hidden within.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 18TH NOVEMBER 1922

NO. 46 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION

(k) GENERAL.

6. JUSTICE, of the 17th November, has the follwoing :-

MB The Mappilla rebellion.

"How far the Congress inquiry into the circumstances of the Malabar distrubances will succeed may be seen from the fact that certain Mappilla leaders of Malabar have also protested against it. The signatories to the protest include the Kazi of Malappuram and many other Thangals in the district who give it as their opinion that 'the Mappilla rebel is the dupe of the Congress-KHILAFAT party'. This is not the time, says their protest, 'for fault-finding but for the softening of mutual asperities between the Hindu and the Mappilla. If any inquiry is necessary at all, that may be done when complete peace is restored and harmonious relationship between Hindus and Mappillas is established'. We are unable to agree with the signatories of the protest intheir view that an inquiry is not immediately necessary and that it may very well be postponed for an indefinite time. An impartial inquiry is necessary, and that too without any loss of time, for after some oonths the holding of an inquiry would mean nothing less than probing a wound which was almost healed. We have frequently urged in these columns the necessity for an inquiry, for it is only by this method that the true causes of the rebellion can be sought out and removed so that Malabar may be insured for the future against the ravages of inter-communal strife".

VERNACUALAR PAPERS

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) COURTS.

Comml. Justice to the Akalis.

28. Referring to certain Akalis that are alleged to have been convicted by a Magistrate on the 11th October 1922 being again convicted by another Magistrate the very next day, the TAMIL NADU, of the 5th November, observes:- As soon as this matter was published in the papers, the Government ascertained the truth of it and gave it as their explangtion that a mistake had been committed. Let this pass. It should be known, however, whether those who gave evidence against these Akalis gave the same blindly or with eyes open and whether the Magistrate had brain or clay in his head. And what became of the false evidence given by the Police? But only the Lord and the co-operators know how many cases similar to the present one occur. Winterton, the Under Secretary of State for India, is now in this country. And will he award a 'medal' to these officers?

(c) JAILS

EI Colour difference in jails.

30. The TAMIL NADU, of the 5th November, publishes, under the initial (V) a statement contrasting the treatment alleged to be meted out to prisoners in England with what is given to those in India, on account of colour difference, in matters such as dress, work and amusements.

(h) RAILWAYS.

The TAMIL NADU, of the 5th November, publishes, under the

initial (V), a statement constrating the number of 'wht the whites' with that of 'the coloured races' drawing salaries of Rs. 200 and more in the offices on railways and the pay drawn by the former being about 98 lakhs of rupees with that received by the latter being only about 8 lakhs of rupees. There appears a noteunderneath, in which the writer thinks that the fact that, evenon the railways conducted on the Indian soil and with Indian money, labour and intelligence, the Indians do not enjoy an equal status, will certainly wound the minds of all persons.

EI Colour difference on railways.

36. Quoting statistics to prove the difference between the scales of salaries paid to Anglo-Indians and Indians in Railway employ, the SAMAASA BODHINI, of the 30th October, observes:- Apart from Europeans in Government service being paid thousands on the score of their being very capable men, their brethren, the Anglo-Indians, are being paid in hundreds in Railway service on the same ground. The only remedy for this is the acquistion of SWARAJ. In reply to a question in the Legislative Council on the injustice of Indians not being given the higher appointments in the railways in India it was stated that the Anglo-Indians were more capable than the Indians. What an audacity to adduce now an argument adduced by a few selfish Englishmen in olden days! This is an inslut to the Indians discharging their duties efficiently in all the high posts under the Government and it is also a slur upon India and the Indians generally. So efforts should be made to get rid of this disgrace and the only way to do this is the acquisitionof SWARAJ.

Anglo-Indians in Railway service.

38. Adverting to the statements said tohave been made by the Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriyar on the eve of his departure from England that he was confident of having successfully laid the foundation of a friendly relationship between India and the Colonies, that whose who say that the interests of India are not properly looked after in England are liars and that all doubts as to whether India derives any benefit from the British connexion should be given up, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 2nd November, remarks that, considering the speech of Mr. Sâstri after understaning how Indian affairs have been attended to by the British Government and how thousands of patriots including Mr. Gandhi are in prison here and after reading the recent speech of Mr. Lloyd George, he may be cited as an example to show how the brains of even highly cultured men become perverted by undue co-operation with the bureaucrats.

Col — The Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriyar.

39. Referring in a leader, under this heading, to a speech of Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi at Poona, wherein he is reported to have stated that the reforms have been a success and that the non-co-operation movement has become a thorough failure, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 2nd November, describes in detaio how misery and not happiness has incfeased in India after the reforms and, reiterating the view that the increase of postal rates and railway fares, of taxation and of military expenditure is after all the result of the reforms, concludes that, though leaders like Mr. Reddi bestow unbounded praise on the reforms, these reforms are a

MR — The victory of the reforms.

failure and that the non-co-operation movement condemned by them will surely attain its object.

42. The TAMIL NADU, of the 5th November, prints under this heading a cartoon of Lord Reading struggling hard in the act of pulling two extremely restive horses representing Indians, in order to make them carryon the Government of India which is pictured as heavy loads saddled on the back of those horses. An imagimry dialogue between Narada and a patriot on the same subject is published below this cartoon under the initial (V) wherein the former makes the following observations among others:- It is onlylife under SWARAJ that is one of happiness and one without it is but the life of a dog. Victory is certain for the non-co-operators, but ~~it~~ it willtake some time for it to come to pass. The people should make further sacrifices. The fact whether the British Empire is to remain or die out depends upon the position of India in this world. English statesmen should realize this. But, they have not done so as yet. Lord Reading's idea of winning the co-operation of the Indians will not materialize.

NCS Non-co-operation.

In an article under this heading, the KERALA KAUMUDI, of the 9th November, remarks that the repeated assurances made in Presidential apeeches at non-co-operators' gatherings, that the non-co-operation movement is not weakening, really produce some doubt about its success so far. It considers the reasons advanced by certain non-co-operators

NCS Non-co-operation.

for council entry to be really amusing and observes that all this clearly goes to show that some people are now anxious of securing seats in the councils.

The Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee.

43. Referring to the divergence of opinion among the members of the Civil Disobedience Committee in regard to entry into the Legislative Councils, the TAMIL NADU, of the 5th November, observes that, though this difference of opinion among the eminent patriots is regrettable, the public need not lose courage threat and that, while a majority of the persons that gave evidence before that Committee have advocated the boycott of Councils, it is not right, on the part of three members thereof, to have set it at naught.

Adverting to the Report of this Committee, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th November, observes:- The suggestion of the Committee that the non-co-operators should try to get into municipalities and local boards,as it will facilitate the working out of the constructive programme of the Congress, is noteworthy. It would have been better if the members of the Committee whowere unanimous in their recommendations about other points had stood together even in regard to the question of the entry into the Legislative Councils.

Adverting to this subject, the SAIPHUL ISLAM, of the 7th November, refers to the unanious conclusion of this Committee that it is mischievous on the part of the Government to issue illegalorders to stop the constructive work planned out at Bardoli in spite of its innocuousness and that,

as every loyal subject is entitled to disobey such orders, it cannot amount to civil disobedience and observes:- It is the opinion of all that it is an unjust policy to disobey all laws, good or bad, and the unanimity of opinionof the Committee on this point is commendable indeed. There is cleavage of opinion, however, in the matter of entry into Legislative Councils.

Referring to the same subject, the DRAVIDAN, of the 8th November, observes:- We maysay that there is not much difference between the general opinion of the members of the Committee and that of the patriots who co-operate. Nevertheless, some of these members think that the non-co-operators should enter the Councils and create confusion, if these Councils do not abide by their wishes. We pity them much for their ignorance. Their principle is entirely wrong and it is certain that their foolish course will not avail them in the least in the Councils.

The Civil Disobedience Committee.

Remarking that the report of this Committee gives a proper reply to those who say that India is not fit for attaining SWARAJ, the NAVASAKTI, of the 10th November, observes:- The disparity in numbers between the witnesses before the Committee who were for boycotting the Councils and those who were against it clearly shows that the majority of the people in the courty are in favour of boycott. It is rather strange that Mr. Ajmal Khan and others have, instead of relying upon the view of thosewho gave evidence befoe them expressed a contrary view. It is indeed laughable to think

of getting into the Legislaive Councils, xmmxxxxxxxxxxx which are intended for the purpose of co-operation with the Government, and taking the oath of allegaance to the Crown and then trying to non-co-operate with the Government which represents the King. Some say that they should get into the Councils only with a view of setting at naught the Reforms Act. The question is whether the authrorites, whoare not cajoled by the flattery, ostentatious resolutions and sweet words of the moderates, will yield to the fuss of the non-co-operators. It is certain that the Governme nt, who have the capacity of making such rules and regulations as to enable them to conduct the administration even without the Legislative Councils, will not care for the obstacles raised by the non-co-opeators getting into such Councils. We have pointed out to the world that the present Legislative Councils arebogus ones and that the members thereof are not the representatives of the people. Thre respect for these Councils is lost. All are aware that the bureaucrats are running these Councils only to hide the true spirit of India. To seek the Legislative Council, allowing Mr. Gandhi and several other patriots to suffer in prison, is detrimental to the vow we have taken. If we give up the boycott of the Councils, it will amount to an admission of failure on our past and a surrender to the bureaucrats. Does it become the Indians, who are famous for preserving their honour even by sacrificing their life, to co-operate with a Governme nt, who have imprisoned Messrs. Gandhi, Lajpat Rai and the Ali brothers, by sitting with them on the same board in their Legislative Councils?

Continuing its comment on this subject, the SAIPHUL ISLAM, of the xx 11th November, remarks:- The decisionof this Committee is all right as faras their view that the country is notnow in a position to adopt passive civil disobedience is conerned. It is,however, a great blunder on their part to have interfered in the matter of entry into Legislative Councils.

NCS The Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee.

Reviewing the Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee in its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 7th November, remarks:- . . . . . Instead of loss accruing to the non-co-operation movement bynot entering the Legislative Councils as Nehru and the rest thou ht, the honour of the country has increased twofold in many respects. The foundations of SWARAJ have been laid and the mental vigour of the Indaians has become strong- . . . . . Mr. Nehru and others think we will not be losers by taking partin the elections to the Legislative Councils. To violate the vow is one loss; and to obstruct the constructive programme and the speedy attainemnt of SWARAJ thereby is another. The old delusion of again taking possession of the country is another. The loss sustained by the removal of the chief support of the movement of the Mahatma is unbounded. The country can, by its own strength, reach its destination. . . . . . . Had not some of the learned people diverted their attention towards the question of entering the Legislative Councils, the constructive programme would have been completed to a great extent. . . . . . .

Commenting on the Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee, the NAVAYUGA, of the 9th Nevember, remarks:- It is an undisputed fact that the Councils are capaboe of producing beneficial as well as baneful results on the country. The constructive programme of the Congress is mainly concerning the transferred subjects. It is, therefore, advisable to ensure that the Ministers have always the support of the majority in the Council. The best course for the Congress leaders is to enter the Councils to help the success of their own programme at least.

The Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee.

On the same subject, the MYSORE STAR, of the 7th November, observes:- No one can fail to see from a review of the report that there are increasing signs og disruption among the non-co-operators themselves.

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 14th November, in a leading article on the same subject, writes:- There is nothing wrong in the view taken by the Committee as seen from their report-....... Every man should be free to act in accordance with his own conscience. . . . . . Let the Moderates do what they believe to be necessary from their own point of view. There are a thousand paths leading to the same gate of justice. It is imaterial which of these paths is followed so long as the destination is the same.

In its leading article, the MUSLIM, of the 9th November, gives a vrief abstract of the report of the Congress Civil Disobedience Committee.

Civil Disobedience Committee Report.

In its second article commentig on thereport of the Civil Disobediecnce Committee, the MUSLIM, of the 13th November, vehemently pleads against the idea of council entry advocated by Mr. C. R. Das and others, particularly at this juncture when the Government have been resorting to brutal repression and Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali brothers are shut up in jail like ordiaary criminals, points out the inconsistency of non-co-operators co-operating with such an admittedly degenerate Government and the futility of co-operation, and calls upon the people to follow, without swerving an inch from the s traight path, the non-co-operation movement set on foot by Mahatma Gandhi. It thinks that India is moving forward along the right way and that she will get SWARAJ in the near futre if she continued her onward march without straying from this path.

NCS The Tamil Nadu Provincial Conference at Tiruppur.

44. Remarking that this Conference was a grand success, the Swadesamitran, of the 8th November, observes:- Had those, who say that the movement of non-co-operation has aned, been at Tiruppur last week, they would have observed in person how the movement has captivated the minds of the people. The most important resolution passed in the Conference is that about the entry into the Legislative Councils. Several people seem to have come to a conclusion on this matter on account of their veneration for the Mahatma. But it should be noted that those who advocate entry into the Councils are not in any way less devoted to the Mahatma. Pandit Nehru and Mr. Das have experience of prisonim-life and have an extra-

ordinary devoting for him. Their opinion is that, in the present situation, it is advisable to get into the Councils and they feel honestly that this is the best procedure that can be adopted. The delegates who assembled at Tiruppur resobed otherwise, as they thougt it best. But, if the proper course is not to consider such a big question as this with a preconceived view actuated by the impulse of the moment but to settle it after deep and mature deliberation, the hasty conclusion come to on this question at Tiruppur can strengthen the hands of only one party and cannot be said to indieate the decided opinion of the Tamil province.

CON The Congress programme.

48. The TAMIL NADU, of the 5th November, publishes an article under the superscription (Varadrajulu) and the subscription (V), wherein the follwoing observations occur among others:- The resolution of the Congress serves as a notice to all those persons with whose help this Government is flourishing. The sole object of this resolution is to point out to such persons that their acts are wrong and thus to reform them. Further, it should be realized that, if we separate at least one person from the side of the enemy, that itself will give enormous strength to us. Moreover, if victory is to be attained in war, it will not come unless a portion of the army gives up its life. Every one will easily understand that the enemy willdestroy the whole of our army if we are discussing as to who should give up their lives and why this suffering has not overtaken all the men in common. It is only by the acts of the leaders that the movement will grow and all persons will accept non-co-operation-

51. Referring to the resolution to be moved in the Laegislative Assembly by Mr. Neogi

Entry into Legislative Councils.

that the correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State about the Indian Princes' Protection Bill, should be published, having been disallowed by the Government, the NAVASAKTI, of the 10th November, expresses its surprise at some non-co-operators wishing to share the insult offered to the moderates in this fashion.

Continuing its comments on this subject and referring to the argument adduced by those who are against the entry into Legislative Councils that

Entry into Legislative Councils.

it is not fair to create an

NCS obstruction inthe Councils after getting into the same and taking the oath of loyalty to the King and that, considering the wording of the preamble to the Reforms Act and the terms of the oath referred to above, it will be unbecoming on the part of those taking the oath to create an obstruction in the Councils, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th November, writes:- As far as our meagre knowledge goes, this argument cannot hold water. The preamble to the Reforms Act, not forming part of the Act itself, cannot have any relation to the provisions of the Act and this is a fact admitted by courts of law. So , this preamable can at best indicate only the aim of those that rramed the Act. Again, it is a mistake to hold that the oath of loyalty to the Crown has been framed either in view of or in relation to the ideal set forth in the said preamble. The wording of the oath is the same as what was in force under the Monto-Morley Reforms of 1909. So, it cannot be taken to have been introduced for the prupose of avoiding non-co-operation. Thus, it is based on a misconception of the oath to argue that, if

those who take the oath resort to non-co-operation in the Council, they will have to act against it. By taking the oath, they will declare their loyalty to the Crown and their readiness to discharge their futy properly. According to the ideal of the Congress laid down tillnow, there is nothing to prevent one to take the oath of loyalty to the Crown and no one has any doubts about this. As for creating obstruction after the declaration that one eill perform his duty properly, the oppostiion in every Legislative Council in the world is working only to create obstruction incessantly to the party in power. So, this objection rests upon what is menat by the duty of the members of the Legislative Council. These members are elcted by the voters and are their mouth-iece. Candidates for election expalin teir policy to the people during the time of the election, and, if te non-co-operators offering themselves as candidates edplain to the people that they intend to create an obstruction in the Council and te voters elect them relying on this statement, it is the duty of those elected to create suchobstruction therein. By mentining in their oath that they will perform their duty properly, they undertake only to discharge the duty imposed on them by the voters. The inclusion, in the Reforms Act, of provisions conferring extraordinary powers on the Government whenever they are not able to get a law deemed by them to be necessary passed by the Council or to impose a tax or incur an expenditure considered by them to be necessary on account of the united oppostion of the majority of the lected members in the Legislative Council, shows clearly that those who framed the law

did not anticipate co-operation from members throughout and did expect non-co-operation at times. Thus, the framers of the law themselves have anticipatedthe creation of obstruction in the Council by the alected members. They did not therefore regard such obstruction to be improper. On the other hand, they felt that it was within the rights of members to so obstruct and inroduced the provisions referred to above permitting the exercise of extraordinary powers to get over the difficulty. If they had thought that such obstruction would be contrary to the aforesaid preamble they could have added a sentence in the oath ' we shall not non-co-operate'. As they did not do so but accepted theold form of oath evenunder the new Act, it is a wonderful argumant that our peopleare bound to evince a spirit of continuous co-operation in the Council, which the framers of the law in question did not expect.

The Legislative Councils.

In its leader under this heading, the CONGRESS, of the 9th November, says:- On the day when the demon Dyer perpetrated murder by strange methods at the Jalianwallabagh, on the day when Government officers acused the Indians to crawl on their stomachs, on the day when the Prime Minister violated the pledges he had made to the Muhammadans, on that very day the demoniacal nature of the Government was laid bare to the world beyond all doubt-. . . . . Viewed from any standpoint, it is clear that the entry to the councils is disastrous. Of those who gave evidence before the Civil Disobedience Committee, only fifteen witnesses expressed the same opionion as that held by Nehru and others. It

proves that the country has rejected their views. The same result will happen even at Gaya. The people have implicit fith in the movement of the Mahatma. The leaders and the propagandists do not correctly understand the nature of the movement, and so they are not constant. It is therefore out duty to carry out the programme of the Mahatma with redoubled zeal.

MR

62. The HITAKARINI, of the 6th November, reproduces in Telugu an article appearing, under this heading, in the 'Indian Social Reformer', of Bombay. The follwoing are some of the observations made thereein:- . . . . . After the advent of the reforms, the sections of the criminal law have received queer interpretations never before given to them, and are being rreely enforced in all parts of the country. . . . . Mr. Ramalinga Reddi said that the Reforms were successful. Did the Minsters accomplish any important things for him to say so? . . . . . Mr. Reddi also said that the non-co-operation movement had died long ago. But have the reforms anylife in them? Did notMr. Reddi, only a little while ago, dwscribe the Ministers as 'crawling on their stomachs in the shadow of the movement of Mr. Gandhi'? If any body is benefitted by the reforms, it is none else han those very Ministers whom Mr. Reddi has thus described.

Were the Reforms successful?

Comml.

64. The following are some of the rmarks occurring in the stanzas written under this heading by a correspondent to the PINAKINI PATRIKA, of the 4th November:- Just like a serpent whose tail is trodden upon rolls itself up entirely

The self-sacrifice of the Akalis.

insted of raising its hood to bite valourously just as a tiger whose whiskers are made into a cradle and used as a swing, stands motionless bearing it, just as a lion behaves with calmness like a goat when his manes are pulled, just as an elephant whose trunk is caught hold of in jumping and whose tusks are broken, does not abandon its endurance, so also the action of the Akalis, a wonder of the three worlds, the Akalis who, though valourous, do not try to oppose while the Government are putting them to troubles, and are dishonouring them out of unreasonable malice.

A queer principle.

65. Commenting upon the views of Messrs. C. R. Das and Motilal Behru favouring the entry into the councils, in its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 9th November, writes:- . . . There is no need for inquiring who have entered the Legislative Councils, when voters have done their duty. It is all the same whether the Legislative Councils are filled or not. There is no wonder that arbitrary authority is increased by the acts of the so-called Members of the Legislative Councils. The object which was thought to be achieved by creating dead-locks has already been gained. The arbitrariness of the authorities became clear already. For this there is no need of breaking the vow. That dead-locks will succeed is impracticable. The boycott already adopted should continue. Else, responsive co-opeatioh should should be adopted. It is vain to speak of entering the Legislative Councils and then boycotting them The people who have once dopted the dharma of non-co-operation can never adopt co-operation again. It is indis-

pehsable that they should continue to boycott the Legislative Councils, till SWARAJ is attained. . . . . When the Indian nation attains strength the Government will not hesitate to grant its desires. The British, by nature, are not those who tighten a thing to a breaking point. It may be thought that, after undersanding the strength of the people, they will not stand in the way of the attainment of SWARAJ. If even then they oppose it, the people will have the strength to resort to civil disobedience.

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A loss in two ways.

66. Criticising the question of the entry into the Legislative Councils, in its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 10th Novemner, says:- The higher morality which is the chief basis of the non-co-operation movemnt will disappear if the entry into the Legislative Councils is included as an item in the non-co-operation programme. Then the movement will lose both its name and form. Till now onlyone partyhas ~~kmmx~~ borned the whole brunt. Another party has been using violence. The holy natue of the non-co-operation movement has therfore become manifest. The soul-force of the followers of the movement has hsone forth- The Indian nation, disciplined in sacrifice, has been rendering brute-force futile. . . . The arbitrariness of the authorities is now revealed in its true form. It will glitter if the non-co-operators enter the Councils. . . When the non-co-opeators enter the Councils to break them with the help ~~afxthexRefxxmx/xAct~~ of the Reforms Act, the Government may use the same Act to oppose them. It will then resemble 'the beating of the bite of a dog with a shoe'.

The dung and the jaggery will then become the same. . . . Under the ladership of Mahatma Gandhi the defeat for the Government and the victory for the people are gradually happening.

The condition of the Punjab: the political views of the Sikhs.

67. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 10th November, contains the following views expressed in an article written under this heading by a special correspondet from India to the MANCHESTER-GUARDIAN;- . . . . . The cause of the troubles, like those of the Punjab in 1919 was that a certain section of the bureaucracy want to stamp out disloyaltyin the towns, just as they do with gangs of bandits in villages. . . . In Rawalpindi, the police beat the Congress volunteers, who had picketed the liquor shops. Imagine what loss is caused thereby to the prestige of the British Government! In broad day light, and in the open street, the police constables beat a man of some rank when he had offered no resistance . . . . The people will not in the least wish to co-opeate with the Governmen when the Sikhs are inhumanly dishonoured in jails.

NCS Is it (non-co-operation) a revoluton?

68. In the course of an article under this heading, the MATRUSEVA, of the 3rd November, remarks:- Those who enter the Councils should either bear all sorts of humiliations as is done to-day, or they must stand up and oppose (the Government) like men, and carry out their object by rousing the country. Even now there is that peaceful enthusiasm which Gandhi has solong incessantly instilled into the country.

But what enthusiasm will there be thn? There will be the enthusiasm of brute-foce which has been laent from contact with officials in the Legislative Councils. Are we to think that Mr. Siva Rao's intellect is so dull as not to be able to undestand whether anarchy or the leadershp of the peaceful saint (Mr. Gandhi) will then have the greater chance? We who know him are not inclined to think so. . . . .

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The boycott of the Legislative Councils.

69. The CONGRESS, of the 9th November, reproduces in Telugu an article under this jeading written by Mr. Gandhi in the YOUNG INDIA, dated the 1st July 1920. It contains the following remarks:- If it is our wish to paralyze the Government we have to throw our whole weight against them and make them light. . . . . I contend that the situation created by the Government cannot be borne at all. So, non-co-opeation is the only means to follow with self-respect. To sever all connexion with the Government is the only course.

A conversation with a co-operator.

70. Under this heading, the CONGRESS, of the 9th November, contains an account o a conversation in a railway train in which the following appears:- One man said in reply to another - 'What do we know of the greatness of the Mahatma. From within the prison-walls he is reciting the MANTRA of the Destruction of arbitrariness'. Another said in a low voice- 'Sinmust become ripe; Sin must become ripe'. In reply to my remark, that people went to jail finding no good in violence, a coperator said- 'How mad you are'. You have

forgotten that beating is haven, Will you get SWARAJ without violence? No. See what happens in disputes for water. Are peace and good words of any use there? The man who has strength wins the day. The same is the case in politics also'.

The triple boycott.

72. In the course of its leader under this heading, the GUNTUR PATRIKA, of the 7th November, observes:- . . . . English education, like drinking, is wakening both our body and mind. The two should be included inone class and boycotted. It cannot be said that English schools, law courts, and shops can be boycotted by entering them. It cannot be said that when once we enter them we will not use them or we will create dead locks. If such a boycott is possible it may also be practised.. . . . .

. . . . . The boycott of schools has been more useful than that of the Legislative Councils. It is from among those who have boycotted schools and law courts, that we have got many of our leaders and propagandists.. . . Fifty per cent of even the Government servants have sympathized with the movement and helped it, while all those who have gone to the Councils are the strong and stalwart enemies of the country. . . . . But the harm done to the country by the Ministers, the Executive Councillors, and the Members of the Legislative Councils who have wilfully sold themselves for this (the upholding of the present system of administration) is incalculable. . . But for their co-operation

SWARAJ would have been already secured. If they had not stood up as a support the Government would have yielded.

Citing the analogy of the history of the Irish people, Mr. Bernard Houghton has pointed out that the only way to make the Government yield lies in entering the Councils and creating deadlocks. . . . . The creation of deadlocks is no harm to self-respect, morality or justice. There is no use of extremism. How can the creation of deadlocks caus any violation of self-respect, morality or justice, which has not resulted from boycotting and inconveniencing the Government servants, from paralyzing the administr tion by withholding the payment of taxes, from embarrassing the Government by inducing the officials and the soldiers to discontinue their services, and from picketing the liquor shops and the foreign shops? . . . . The proper way is to take into account the present situation (lit the propriety of the time and the place) and enter the Legislative Councils, oppose the Government, and show courage without advancing extreme arguments through obstinacy or vanity.

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Krishna and Gandhi

73. In the course of an article under this heading, comparing Mr. Gandhi to Sri Krishna, a correspondent to the GUNTUR PATRIKA of the 7th November, observes:- Of rigteousness and unrighteousness following the cycle of ages, te former has completely died out in the present Kaliyuga and the latter has begun to increase. When there were kings like Kamsa (the demon-king who was the uncle of Krishna), who

unjustly oppressed the people and ruled them despotically and did fiendhish deeds, true to the saying of the Bhagavad Gita, 'I shall be born in every age to establish rigeousness'. God had incarnated as Krishna to prevent the oppression of the people and protect rigteousness, took the side of righteousness, resorted even to violence to destroy the party of unrighteousness, dispalayed the strength of valour along with that of intellect, and destroyed xxx unrighteous-ness. The (Mahba) Bharata war iself is a proof of this. The kings who are ruling a t present, who solely follow materialistic ways and unable to understand spirtuality, have themselves strayed from truth and have been oppressing the people with despotic authority. . . . . To suit the times God had taken the form of Gandhi, preached non-violence, and incited the people to a p aceful war to eradicate despotism, which is the cause of unrighteousness. . . . As our present rulers are ruling with violence simply to maintain their commerce and bcome rich, (God) was born in the Vysya community in order to destroy, by using the disc of the spinning-wheel, the commerce which is the root-cause of that violence.

The Report of the Congress Enquiry Committee.

77. In its leader under this heading, the TRILINGA, of the 11th November, observes:- . . . . As the expectations of the Congressmen are frustrated, we cannot but admit that the report of this Committee has proved to be of no advantage at all. It is widely knowx how the district of Guntur, which was like a serpent which had eaten mud, has acquired fresh

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life and has exhibited unparalleled enthusiasm as a result of the visit of this Committee and the fanning of the flame by the authorites. . . . Just like the severing of the had of the movement itself, the Mahatma has put a stop to civl disobedience all of a sudden. From that day onwards, the enthusiasm of the people has become chilled, while the torpor of the leaders has also increased. Though it had been our intention to bring the Government to a standstill, it so happened that we ourselves came to a standstill and kept quiet without doing anything. In the absence of activity, every movement must die. . . . It is regrettable that the enquiry on cibil disobedience should have ended in nothing. . . . . Whatever ways we may suggest and whatever paths we may take to conduct this movement, there will be no use, unless we finally adopt mass civil disobedience.-----

NCS The Congress Enquiry Committee on the Malabr disturbance.

86. The KERALA PATRIKA, of the 21st October, thinks that the coming of outsiders to Malabar to inquire into the Malabar riots will be an evil at a time when the land is quietly seettling down to normal conditions. It fears that the inquiry may once more stir up the hatred generated during the riot between the Hindus and Muhammadans. It refers to the popular conviction that the prime cause of the riot was the preaching of the KHILAFAT and Congress non-co-operators-- an opinion endorsed by three able and experienced judges who have weighed evidence in the matter -- and that the endeavour of the Congressmen is merely to whitewash their own members and to mislead outsiders. Ref-

erring to other alledged causes, the paper xyx says that the riot was certainly not caused by the police and that it is a great mistake to connect the riot with the Janmi-teneant dispute. It dies not, however, recommends the Government interference with the Congress Committee Enquiry.

Adverting to the manifesto issued by certain janmis of Malabar against the Congress Enquiry Committee on the Malabar disturbace, the KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 30th October, points out that xi this is only one more proof that the janmis were the cause of the disturbance, and warns the Hindus of Malabar 'that it is not good to destroy one's own country to win the facour of the Government'.

The YUVABHARATHAM, of the 29th October, criticzes the rash condemantion by the Raja of Kollengode and others of the Congress Enquiry Committee on Mlabar disturbance. It says in effect--They say it is like putting the criminals to try his own crime. But how did these gentlemen keep quiet when the Government appointed a committee to inquire into the terrible train tragedy caused by their own subordinates? The principle was then perhaps forgotten, as the victims were Mappillas. . . . . Again, which is more rash, sending a few reputedly impartial men to hold the inquiry or condemning such men, without any inquiry or evidence, as the abettors of criminals?

EI Racial distinctions.

91. The SWARAT, of the 17th October, and a few other papers remark that His Excellency

EI Racial distinctions.

91. The MANORAMA, of the 20th October, hears that the Secretary of State for India has set his face against the removal

of racial distinctions in India as recommended by the committee appointed to inquire into the matter and points out that this attitude of his,--if true, -- is quite contrary to the united opinion of the 'Indian Parliament' and that if the Secretary of State and the British Cabinet, without a true knowledge of India, should go against the opinion of the Viceroy, it cannot but result in serous difficulties.

The YUVAKERALAM, of the 24th October, observes that the secretary of State's order against increased Indianization of services and the Caninet's attitude in regard to the racial distinctions question have both affected the self-respect of His Excellency the Viceroy.

MIL.EX India's military expenditure.

92. The LOKAPRAKASAM, in its 'Dipavali Supplement' (not dated), protests against the arbitrary and huge inflation of India's military expenditure by the War Minister, points out that the presentfigure is six times the war expenditure in the year of the Sepoy Mutiny, and that India cannot raise her head till this waste is stopped.

Comml. The Akalis.

93. Under the heading 'the Akalis', the KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 6th November, has an article in which it says that it is not likely that any one but the British has forgotten the fact that, in the late great and terrible war, many thousands of brave Sikhs gave their lives for the prupose of maintainging the dignity of the British. There were only the Sikhs to stand in the front ranks in the battle -field to fiht the enemy. The Europeans stood behind them. It

is the beloved children of these brave men who did not show theleast hesitation to give up theirlives for the Empire that the Police of Punjab are blindly persecuting. No one had the least idea that the ingratiude of the British was so great. . . . . . . "Will not the loyaltyof the Indian people wane more and more with the injustice shown by the British Government towards the Sikhs?"

The YUVABHARATHAM, of the 29th October, writes along article in superlative terms prasing the xxx Akalis for the 'holy war' they are waging with 'spiritual force' against a system of Government based on 'mere brute force'. It says INTER ALIA 'Lala Lajaput Rai was of opinion that in those days (1920, when 'Kirpans' were prohibited) outrages were committed by Government in the Punjab among the Sikhs which surpassed the atrocites credited t the Czars of Russia'. Even then the Sikhs never abandoned their sacred weapon. All these persecutions, they endured with great patience-. . . . . (Later in the Nankana Sahin affair) The only punishment that he (the Mahant) got was to live in the Delhi jail with all comforts and convenience like a king. . . . The present holy war was a most praiseworthy chapter in the history of the Sikhs and through xx it in the history of India.

The MUSLIM SAHAKARI, of the 9th November points out that nobody can shut his eyes to the fact that the Akalis of the Punjab are resorting to civil disobedience with a view to gain their unlawful object and calls upon the people to consider what the consequences will be if the other communites in India follow in theirfootsteps. The paper condemns thepolicy followed by the Akalis, thinks that their

actions amount to nothing short of anarchy and obsefves that real lovers of the country should never put up with such actions, as they involve greatdanger to the country and its people.

III-LEGISLATION.

Press. Princes' Protection(Press)Bill.

96. Adverse criticism still appears in the Malayalam Press regarding the Princes' Protection (Press) Bill:- The LOKAPRAKASAM in its 'Dipavali Supplement', (not dated) chargcterizes His Excellency the Viceroy's action as 'unjust' and 'deplorable'. It points out that, with the recent adoption by the Suzerain Power of a policy of non-interference in the administration of Native States,highhandedness and injustice have become current in several States and some things are being done in these States 'such as are not done and are considered unjust even in British India. The present law causes, therfore, all the greater hardship.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 25TH NOVEMBER 1922.

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ENGLISH PAPERS

II--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) POLICE

5. SWARAJYA, of the 19th November has the following:-

RA Lathi practice! "Although the lathi has from time immemorial been the indigeneous weapon of India, its latentpossibilities have never been fully understood or developed, is the opening sentence of a pamphlet on Lathi practice written by the now notorious Mr. Macpherson and one other of the Imperial Police Service. Both Macpherson and Derrick, we presume, must have spent may a laborious hour not only to explore the hidden possibilities of the lathi as a weapon both for offensive and defensive uses, and its adaptability to persons of varying physique and differing temperaments, nut also to impart thefruit of such industry and research to their subordinates. . . . . The doings of the Punjab Police at Guru-ka-Bagh bid fair to those of their Martial law mentors, and strike a new balance, no doubt aesthetically conceived, between the proportin of the cruelty inflicted on, and the humiliation suffered by, the victims of the terror. . . How to hold, push or disperse a crowd is taught in a course of exercises which reveals the terror-striking oddities of Lathi-brandishing. That one of the chief officers of the Government should be engrossed in inventing new forms of refined cruelty is a significant symptom of the disease in the body politic that now rules over us. That th author of the pamphlet on lathi practice witnessed experiments in them before his own eyes on the bodies of living persons,

is a more severe comment onits utter wickedness. And yet there a r e some among us who believe in a civilization that flourishes by researches in Lathi practice. . . We do not, however, feel apprehensive about the futmre. On the cobtrary, we feel almost certain that this ponderous social edifice reared up on the destructive terrors of Force Msjeure will topple down at no distant date".

(k) GENERAL

The situation at Guru-ka-Bagh-

6. SWARAJYA, of the 18th November, observes:- "The tense situation at Guru-ka-Bagh has leased out the lands adjacent to the Bagh to another person who has announced his intention not to molest or harass the Akali Sikhs coming out to cut wood from the trees in the garden. This is the second of the victories that the Akalis have won against the Mahant and the Government. The impasse at the Bagh is ended. The indescribable suffering of the Akalis has won for them recognition of their rights at Guru-ka-Bagh. But the new situation which means the stoppage of arrests at the Bagh does not however terminate the contest of the Akalis with the Government. Till the latter yields in full demands of the Gurudwara Committee in respect of their religious shrines, and till the prisoners so far arrested in connlion with the Bagh and other incidents that have preceded this distressing episode, peace with the Akali Sikhs cannot be made. The new Gurudwara Bill which the Punjab Government is trying to rush through the Legislative Council in the face of combined

opposition from all parties will only further straiten the position in the province. Guru-ka-Bagh does not end the Akali Struggle, though it certainly marks onemilestone on the path to success. The release of all the prisoners, Sikh and non-Sikh who have suffered in the cause of Gurudwara reform, must precede the final settlement if any is to be attempted in the near future. The issue in the Punjab is much wider than that of the reform of Sikh religious shrines. It is one of the assertions of the fundamental rights of citzenship. Until the Government pledges itself not to encroach and transgress on the free rights of citizens, the situation in the Punjab will not have undergone any appreciable change".

Referring to the communiques issued by the Shromani Prabandhak Committee, the HINDU, of the 20th November, writes:- "The question resolves itself into an interpretation of Sikh tradition and in this view the final word must come out of joint efforts of both th contending parties. The Mahant will, therefore, e well advised to confer with the Akalis on the basis of friendship and goodwill and may rest assured of a reasonably fair deal in regard to the settlement. In the Mahant's own interest this would seem to be the better course, for judging from results thus far, the Akalis have won and the Mahant and his patrons have been non plussed. No more evidence of this fact is required than the lease of the Guru-ka-Bagh which the Mahant apparently reards as a clever hit and which the Govenment is siad to have welcomed and encouraged. The lease, a one-year affair,is manifestly a

damp squib which will not scatter the Aiali agitation and serves but to show the embarrassment which the Mahant and the Government have found themselves in, for it is incredible that a problem grown to such proportions should be shelved up in a spirit of riddance by men whose path lay clear. The Mahant must now realize tha, in a matter of this kind, to lean upon Government is to lean on a broken reed. He knows as much as all the world that the Government who have taken Akalis to prison in bigh hauls have won but to that extent and failed in producing a reliable settlement either by force or by adjustment".

SWARAJYA, of the 22nd November, states:- "Though in the matter of the Guru-ka-Bagh Gurudwara the Punjab official began latterly to simulate a desire to be conciliatory, reports of the treatment meted out to the Akali Sikhs elsewhere seem to indicate that he is in no mood to gic e up the 'brutal business' which he had commenced at the Bagh. The studied cruelty of lathi-blows scientifically levelled at the Guru-ka-Bagh victims was the stern answer of the Government to the united demand made by the Akali Sikhs for the full control of their religious shrines. The same answer is still repeated, though in very different shape, through punishments in prison. If the account of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee is to be believed, bar fetters, suspension on trees, rude kicks and lathi-blows that render the 'defenceless' unconscious, are some of the brutal punishments meted out in prison to the Akalis. If these facts reported to the press represent the truth, then it becomes the clear duty of all communites in India to render active assistance to the Akali sufferers. The crime-stained Government of the Punjab cannot put forth its feelers for peace and still not desist from its inhuman and cowardly

coercive campaign. The Government ought now to recognize the strength of the Akali Sikhs and yield all their just demands. Subterfuge and evasion are as much predoomed to sterility as force. If the Government is sincerely desirous of a settlement then it ought honestly to lay down its ams. If, however, it refuses to stay its career of crime, and the martyrdom of the Sikhs continues as ruthlessly as eve; then the entire people of India will have to be reushed to the help of their oppressed brethren in the Punjab, were it only to be acquitted of the serious charge of moral torpor".

Sir Willim Vincent.

7. SWARAJYA, of the 21st November, remarks:- "By His Majesty's command Sir William Vincent was yesterdy invested with G.C.I.E. at the farewell banquet at the Viceregal Lodge. Sir William has certainly deserved well of the Government of India both as a manipulator of votes in the Council and as a vigilant upholder of Service interests. We do not grudge him the honour of a Grand Crossp It is interesting to remember that the only other civilian who has refeived this high distinction is that ornament of the steel frame, Sir M. O'Dwyer. We do not know how Sir William wouldlike to be paired with the redoubtable Lion of the Punjab; but to us it is an unepected confirmation of what has long been the popular point of biew that Sir William in spite of his SAVOIR FAIRE and fascinating smile was at heart more of the O'Dwyeran Civilian without of course the studied rudeness or bullying braggadocio of the latter. Sir William's connexion with India does not cease with his retirement. He will only become more influen-

tial placed as he will be behind the purdah of the India office".

8. SWARAJYA, of the 22nd November, remarks:- "The underlings of the Government and the minions of the police in Malabar have

The Mappilla rebellion.

MP become angry that an impartial committee may now go intot the cause and history of the Mappilla rebellion. They are in mighty fear that their own misdeeds may be exposed side by side with the horrors of the Mappilla rebels. They are therefore raising a hue and cry against all kinds of enquiry whetherit be by the Congress or by a committee appointed by the Legislative Council. We know that under-hand influences were used by the Governmen to see that neither of the motions tabled fro discussion asking for a committee of enquiry was taken up then. Reports from Malabar now show how the agents of reaction are actively intimidating witnesses, and setting afloat false rumours of all kinds. We are informed that police officials are trying to get up petitions that some people are preaching a second rising under the cover of collecting evidence. The manifesto signed by the Valia Nampidid of Kollengode and otherultra loyalists on the Hindu side has now been supplemented by a manifesto of Mappilla loyalists, and the evidence of the same master hand is seen in both. Instead of werking for the pacification of the country the Government is now actually engaged in a short-sighed policy of inflaming communal feelings for securing a temporary respite from Congress activites".

9. SWARAJYA, of the 23rd November, remarks:- "The moral superiority of the Akali Sikhs has earned for them yet anothersuccess , closely following on the one obtained at Guru-ka-Bagh. Mahant Raghubir Singh of Ramdas, a place 25 miles off Amritsar, has surrendered the Gurudwara and the lands thereof, which were in his possession and injoyment, to the control of the Panth by a declaration made inpublic before a congregation of the Akali Sikhs. If only the Mahants at other places showed a disposition to be equally conciliatory and cease to look forward to the strong arm of the law for protection, the peaceful reform of the Gurudwaras can speedily be effected in a manner which would satisfy the legitimate claims of all parties. The Mahants, no less than the Government, ought to have realized by now that the Panth is prepared resolutely to press its just demands even at the cost of terrific sacrifices.. . . But the officials of the Punjab seem to tbe rampant individualists who have developed an extraoddinary fiath in the infinite possibilites of Force. The intimidation of the Akalis goes on as merrily as ever. With a barazen self-complacency the Government of the Punjab and the central authority at Delhi witness the grim spectacle as Coercion runs wild with the bit in the mouth. What matters it to viceroys and Governors if the jwbone of an 'Akali prisoner is broken by a brickbat'--so asserts a communique of the Shiromani Committee --hurled by an Englsish Officer whose maddening ire was provoked by the sacred shouts of 'Sat Sri Akal'! They are sent out to rule India, may be by law and methods known

Comml. The Akali situation.

to justice, or by the sharp pőont of the bayonet and the sword or by the brass-shod lathi! The world sees fresh chaptes being added day by day to the tale of woe and inhumanity in the Punjab; but those who lightly perpetuate injustice and wrong seem to know little that they are engaged indigging the ground under their own feet. But while this record of crime keeps multiplying itself, it is not a little heartening to see the Akalis pass from triumph to triumph, till it almost seems certain that their objective would shortly be attained".

III-LEGISLATION

10. The HINDU, of the 18th November, states:-"The motion for taking into consideration the Gurudwaras and shrines

Commul. The Gurudwara Bill.

Bill was a after much fierce opposition on the part of all

Comml. non-official members, almost passed at the last meeting of te Punjab Legislative Council. It is significant that the Hindu Minister and Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia chose to remain neutral. The bill, we can well conceive, must have caused the Government much mortification, since it is, even as far as it goes, virtually the most crusing indictment of their insensate policy towards the Akalis. Eeaing between the lines of Sir John Maynard's impassioned plea, if is not difficult to see how deeply Government side had been wounded--which must be heartening to the righeous Akalis that their courageous and non-violent blow has gone home. . . Yet utter confession of defeat as it is on the part of the

Government, why did neither the Hindu nor the Muhammadan M.L.C.'s heartily support the taking into consideration of what is claimed to be a just and favourable bill for the settlement of a protracted controversy? Why should they oppose the Government because of the 'intransigeance' of the reforming Sikhs? Sir John Maynard in his speech asked for grarantees. . . . Gurarantees are necessary--nor for the Government, but from them to the Sikhs. Since, they have put themselves 'ab initio' in the wrong and have tacitly acknowledged it by retracting their ways, it is no grarantee that the proposed bill is evidence of any tearful concern for the Akalis. Further 'ipso facto' the five thousand odd arrests are untenable. The release, therefore, of all the Akalis unjustly incarcerated is the only guarantee of good faith. This has been one of the governing motives of the Sikhs who oppose the bill, who in fact boycotted the Select Committee; and so long as there is this sore still open and festering, it is not to be wondered at that non-Sikh non-official legslators should be unwilling to pull the Government's chestnuts out of the fire for them".

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VERNACULAR PAPERS

Col Indians in Ceylon.

12. The SUTANDIRAN, of the 29th October, publishes the eighth of the series of articles under this heading by a correspondent, in the course of which he remarks that the

labourers become heavily indebted to the planters and the KANGANIS even beforethey get into the plantations, without being aware of it, in that all the money advanced to them, from the time they leave India for food and clothing and the expenses of travelling are treated as loans and ads:- The amount of this loan will come to about Rs.50 per head and even to Rs. 100 in some plantations and the labourers cannot hope to liquidate this loan even if they work in the plantations all theirlife. What other name can we give to such labourers than slaves? Some may try to escape from the plantations to get rid of their misery, though it is very hard to do so, there being many cruel laws tohelp the planters. And again the labourers cannot hope to get into other plantations to eke out their livelihood; for no planter can take a labourer unless he discharges the dues of that labourer to the planter under whom he was previously employed. Practically a planter must purchase a labourer from another plantation. What else is this but slave-trade? We see such trade being carriedon in this form under the British rule!

A correspondent to the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th November, refers to some Indian KANGANIS having been recently punished in Ceylon for marrying two wives in contravention of the law in force in Ceylon prohibiting the Hindu Colonists there from marrying more than one wife and sks why, while the people of severalcountries and several religions accept the truth of the Hindu PURANAS, one should be prevented from marrying several wives in accordance with those authorites and why, while the Government of Ceylon permit

marriages among Indians being perfomed according to their own religous practices, they should object to the same Indians marrying two wives.

15. Remarking that, though the 'whites' were indulging in

EI White fears black.

the bravado till now that they were the race solely destined to rule over thos world, they are now broken-hearted and are afarid at sight of the awakening of Islam all the worl over and of the endeavour of all other people in Asia and Afica to dwstroy European cibilization in its entirety, the TATWA ISLAM, of the 1st November, observes under this heading:- The whites in the western countries wherein adultery, drink, gambling anf racing are extrava-gantly in eidence, say that their own civilization is superior and want to guard themselves against the Islamic civilization wherein all the excellences do not exist and to rid the world of Islam and the black civilization. But, if out of these four evils, even matter of fact, however, the European countries vie with each other in the possession of all these evils together. Such being the case, we shall see how long the civilization of yesterday of these European satans who seem to be the emnodiments of all vices is going to last.

17 The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th November, observes:-

COL Indians in the Colonies.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, with his ripe experience states that economic considerations are the chief cause for the hatred shown towards the Indians living in their

midst, it is but natural that they should wish to get rid of the Indians to protect themselves. But when the characteristics of the other European nations that have settled in the Colonies are considered, selfprotection does not appear to be the cause for the hatred evinced by them towards the Indians. The restrictions in those places are based only on the distinction made between Europeans and others for the Italians, Russians, Poles, Hebrews and others are permitted to settle there merely because they are Europeans. It is said that the happy living of the Europeans will be endangered by the Indians who are satisfied with a little and lead a life without much fuss. We remember to have read somewhere of a notice having been affixed at the entrance of a church in South Africa to the effect that dogs and black men should not enter. Considering these things, it is evidently the defference of colour that is the cause of the hardships of the Indians in the British Colonies.

Separate communal representation in the local boards.

NB

30. REAMRKING THAT THE Government of the United Provinces has granted separate communal representation to the Muhamadans in the local boards and the municipalities the GUNTUR PATRIKA, of the 14th November, proceeds to observe:- The principle of separate communal representation was hitherto applied only to the Legislative Councils, and not to the Local Boards. The depressed classes obtain representation noy by election, but by nomination. As a result of it, only those who promise votes to the President are nominted, and not those whose nomiantion will conduce to the welfare of the community. As the pwoer to vote is mostly in the hands of the landed proprietors, and as the voters are very few in number among the depressed classes, the latter gain practically no experience in self-Government. In these

elections, even the highly-educated people have the securing of appointments as their main ideal, and are using both good and bad means to achieve it. Generally, people presper by degrees only by experience. Under the present state of things the depressed classes cannot come out successful in the elections. The Brahmans, the Chetties, the Kammas and the Reddis who form but the other communites are to have proper representation, either a separate electorateshould be formed for them or every member who has attained majority should be given the power to vote at least for the local boards, if not for the Legislative Councils. Till then, the local boards will not pay proper attention to the well-being of the depressed classes.

NCS Gandhi in Jail.

35. In an article under the subscription 'V.R.' the SUTANDIRAN, of the 29th October, refers to a Government communique in which it is stated that, as Gandhi did not ask for a lamp, one was not given to him andobserves:- Such Indians as request the English to grant SWARAJ will ask not only for a lamp but for all things they want. Gandhi will not do so and the secret of this cannot be understood by the Government now. The English are accustomed to imprison great Emperors like Napoleon. They have the friendship of heroes who will answer a shot with a shot. They know the attitude of Emperors who do not hesitate to bring about loss of life. They cannot understand the attitude of Gandhi, who is the embodiment of humility, love and sympathy.

Entry into Legislative Councils.

36. Adverting to this subject, the SUTANDIRAN, of the 29th October, observes:- Certain persons contend that we shoudd enter the Legislative Council, throw obstacles in the way of its proceedings and bring the Government to a stand-still, as such is the aim of the non-co-operation movement. This is but an empty dream. For, it is childish to think that the Government which created the Legislative Council will allow us to place obstacles in the conduct thereof. Even if such obstruction is caused, the Government will not come to a stand-still. For, the Governors and the Viceroy hold in their hands extraordinary powers to avert such a contingency. If we think that it is only by means of the Legislative Council that we can bring the Government to a dead-lock, they will take precutionary steps for the frustration of our idea. The phrase 'engry into Council' is but appropriate. For, we should enter like thieves and we shall get there only the honour that pertains to theives. What are we to do by entering the Council? By the very words 'entry into Council', compromise is meant. Has a compromise been effected between the people and the Government? There are two big institutions in India, namelythe Congress and the Government of India. And have the Government accepted the Congress which is an institution of the people? As long as they have not so accepted, why should the people accept the Legislative Council which is an institution of the Government? What is known as a compromise is one which comes to pass between people holding an equal status. The Government are, as a matter of fact, slighting the Congress and are treating it as their enemy. Such being thecase, if certain

persons enter the Legislative Council under the name of the Congress, it will mean that the Congress has sustained a defeat, or it is certain that such people will become prisoners of war. If the Government can arrest the firm-minded Gandhi and his followers on the broad battle-field, can they not spread their illusive net and delude those that enter the Council? Now, who can enter the Councils, even supposing all the patriots in prison are releaded? None among them like Gandhi, the Ali brothers and Lajpat Rai and can enter them on account of their prison-life. If others so so enter, we shall not derive any benefit.

In its leading article on this subject, the PANAM, of the 3rd November, remarks that, at this time when the conservatives who hold retrograde view regarding India have come to power, the boycott of the Legislative Council will not be so beneficial. The SOURASHTRA, of the 4th November, observes that numerous disadvantages such as increase of repressive measures, increase of taxation, creation of racial hatred and the promotion and the policy of 'divide and rule' have resulted from the reforms and argues that the work of the Government will not in the least, suffer by the non-co-operators entering the Councils and obstructing the proceedings thereof. The PANDIYA NESAN, of the same date, observes in the course of an Englsuh leade on this subject that "the turn taken by the 'non-co-opertion' movement is ignominious and insulting to the great leader who is, by compulsion of law silenced for a prettylong time" and remarks that "the attempt of a section of the non-co-operators to enter the Councils is a departure from the ideal chalked ut by Mr. Gandhi". The

~~LOKO~~ KAKARI, of the 16th November, condems the attitude of those non-co-operators who advocate entry into the Legislative Council, on the ground that the non-co-opeators can never hope to be in the majority in the Council, as the public have not yet been sufficiently trained to elect non-co-operators alone as their representatives and suggests that the leaders should, instead of getting into the Council and fighting there, tour from place to place and make the people atand as valiant heroes in the non-violent war of SWARAJ. The NAVASAKTI, of the 17th November, writes:- We want to know how it is honourable now to get into the Councils which we condemned first. Entering the Councils is something like acknowledging our defa and going into the enemy's camp for surrender. It will not do for the non-co-operators, who get into the Councils with the intention of paralysing them, to take the oath of loyalty. How can the non-co-opeators, who do not approve of the present constitution swear allegiance to it?

In the course of its leader in which it expresses itself against the proposal to enter the Councils, the KISTNA PATRIKA, of the 11th November, writes:- The Civil Disobedience Committee has observed that the people have lost all confidence in the Government, that people and that though the people have been put to great hardships by the repressive acts of the Government they have not been able to affect the courage and the resouteness of the people. . Is it blind faith that has been able to rouse the popular force, that has created self-confieence, that has withstood

The Council entry.

the punishments of the Government, and that has proclaimed that sacrifice alone leads to salvation? If that is blind faith, people cannot leave off that faith. The machinations of politicians and the artifices of lawyers cannot stand before them.

Entry into Legislative Councils.

In an article observing that Mr. Gandhi's political principles are too high and idealistic ofr the masses to follow, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 21st November, remarks:- We should follow in the wake of British traditions and punish the wicked even at the cost of our own lives. We should contest the elections, root out injustice and punish the wicked. We should be prepared for the worst in trying to perform this duty- . . . . . Let each have his principles and party. Let high-souled men return good for evil. Let others meet evil with evil and even sacrifice their lives, if necessary, for the goood of the world. This is the political creed of Mr. Das and we think it certaainly commendable in a sense.

Parties. The position of the moderates.

37. The TATWA ISLAM, of the 1st Nobember, writes:- The moderates who relied on the reforms and co-operated with a foreign Government in direct contravention of the views of the people of the country, have not only lost the love of our country men entirely, but have not also gained anything from the Government. Will they not at least hereafter give up their association with the Government and love their own kith and kin? Alas! It is not known how long still the

children of Mother Bharata will remain entangled in the illusive net of these alien Englsihmen who resort to the policy of 'divide and rule'!

Comml. The Mappillas and the Sikhs.

38. The SUTANDIRAN, of the 5th November, traces the history of the Sikhs and pointing to the fact that it was these that helped to establish the British Empire in India, observes In the last European war, Turkey joined Germany and was defeated, with the result that she was divided among the Allies and the KHALIFA became a puppet. The glory ~~Indix~~ of the KHILAFAT and the life of Islam should have ended with this. The Muslims in India fought against the Khalifa, actuated by a mistaken loylaty and wothout understanding the real menaing of the KHILAFAT. When this institution began to dwindle much, the Muslims in the world and especially those in India woke up and it was Mahatma Gandhi that helped to utilize this awakening. The Mapppillas being madly attached to their religion were greatly distressed when they heard of the danger to the KHILAFAT. The preachings of the Mahatma had onct reached their ears. And the moment the Ulemas made mention of danger, the Mappillas drew their swords. The Government of India mistook the sword drawn for religion to have been drawn for suubverting the Government. Their impression was true in a way. The Mappillas entertained the curious idea that those who did not help them were their eenemies and the result was that the majoritiy of the Hindu brethren suffered on account of this new religious upheaval. No Indian can help being excited

at the Mappillas having been convicted by the Government as rebels, traitors and seditionists. But they had a pretext that the trend of religious frenzy led the Mappillas into a wrong path. The result is that these Mappillas have brought about almost the extermination of ther result is that these Mappillas have brought about almost the extermination of their race. Now turning to the Punjab, a great struggle is going on only on account of the religious spirit of man. The movement started there by a small band assumed a serious shape. Instead of dwindling gradually in numbers, as was the case with the Mappillas, the Akalis carrying on the struggle are daily increasing in number. Where is the army which is consuming more than a half of the revenue of India? Where is the strength of the laws passed by the Government of India in hasted and by waking up even during nights? Where is the delusion of the authorities that they can suppress anything by means of threats and force? The truth is that no one can curb the force of love? No one can oppose the sacrifice of soul. For every act of brutal force applied to the Akalis the latter replied by demonstarating their capacity to endure and teach a lesson of love to those who acted in this manner. It is love that we want, that the world wants now and for ever.

NCS The Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee.

43. Continuing its comments on this subject, the SIPHUL ISLAM, of the 13th November, writes:- When the national movement is progressing gradually and when the Government is proving a failure on account of the reforms being found to be useless by the progress of this movement, we regret that some vakils shoul have made certain recommendations,

contrary to the ideals of non-co-operation, soas to make other countries laugh at us thinking that the Congress too has failed. We ask whether it will be possible ti make the ordinary people fit to adopt mass civil disobedience, if a few literate men get into the Legislative Councils and oppose the Government measures, without devsing means for the people of the country concentrating their attention on the working of the Congress programme. The recommendations of ~~xhixx~~ this Committee fall short of Mahatma Gandhi's principles. Entry into the Legislative Council cannot be accepted as a substitute for mass civil disobedience. If it is considered that the Congress programme cannot be carried out without resorting to non-violent civil disobedience, it is the duty of the leaders to prepare the people for the adoption of such civil disobedience. The Committee should have recommeneded only this.

The SUKHODAYAM, of the 16th November observes:- The opinion of the Civil Disobedience Committee that the people are not now ready for civil disobedience may be true; but there is no room to say that they will not soon become ready for it. We consider that the committee have failed to discharge their primary duty either because they were afraid of mass civil disobedience or despaired of training the Indians to adopt the same. There is no doubt that their having suggested other courses of action than that of training te people for civil disobedience will greatly injure the non-co-operation movement. We are of opinion that, if the Bardoli resolutions of Mahatma Gandhi are actively given effect to, the people can be trained for civil disobedience

in as short a period as possible. The very moment the country becomes ready to undergo the sacrifices necessary for the fulfilment of the sims of the Congress, the Government will come to terms with us. We should gather our SANTI SENAI (the army of non-violnce) so as to establish the principles of democracy. Union among the people is our shield in the non-violent war and their courage coupled with non-violence is our all-powerful weapon. In fine, entry into the Legislative Councils is of no avail in the absence of civil disobedience and hence we cannot go back upon our stand.

The Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee.

Commenting on this report the KANTHIRAVA, of the 14th November, remarks:- Our own view of non-co-operation is that it is too radical a movement. The opinion of the committee in regard to entering the councils is doubtless commendable. It is most desirable that our best political leaders should take the place of the present worthies in the councils who merely nod their heads and are interested only in ther travelling allowances. Likewise, it is well that the boycott of law courts and schools is given up. In politics it will never do to be rigid and hide-bound. It is well that the leaders have adapted themselves to the present political situation. Though it is hard to say what thenew committee will recommend on the question of the "boycott of British godds", it seems to us sufficent to confine ourselves to SWADESHI. It is like wise most desirable to put a stop to theburning of foreign cloth.

41. The SAIPHUL ISLAM, of the 14th November writes:- In spite of the number of Akalis arrested having gone above five thousand they do not hesitate to cling to the non-co-operation movement. They put up with all the sufferings caused to them by the Police, without opening their lips and without thinking of revenge. If those who live in other parts of India have the same mentality as the Akalis, the non-co-operation movement would have attained success long ago. We wish that men of the stamp of the Akalis are born in every province in India, if the torch of non-co-operation should burn radiantly in this land. The NAVASAKTI of Madras of the 17th November 1922 expresses surprise at the Akali struggle not being over yet in spite of a Sikh gentleman holding a seat in the Punjab executive Council and remarks that the Akalis are true and pure warriors and tht, as they stand by SATYAGRAHA, neither their determination nor their zeal can be suppressed by the armed strength of the authorities.

Comml. The Akali struggle.

The SAIPHUL ISLAM, of the 20th November, refers to the MAHANT having leased the garden in question to Sir Gangaram of the Pubjab Legislative Council who has given free permission for cutting fuel from the trees under dispute and the former having declared that police protection is no longer necessary and observes:- Probably this arrangement had tobe made after arresting 5,603 persons, as the passive struggle of the Akalis could not be put an end to by the repressive measures of the Government! This will make any one affirm that repression has been defaeated and passive resistance has triumphed. Whatever may be ultimate cause of

this struggle, it is a fact known to all that, for a long time, the Sikhs have been entertaining a feeling of anger towards the Government for the latter having interfered in their religious affairs. It is indeed a great mistake that instead of leaving the question of reforming the Gurudwara in the hands of the Sikhs, the Government should have meddled with it. Though the Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and Muhammadans unanimously condemned such an interference, they did not mind it in the least. We regret very much that the Gov rnment should have, without in the least paying heed to the troubles that may arise from this interference, introduced the Gurudwara Bill. If the Government really wish to end the Akali struggle, let them release forthwith the 5,603 Akalis in prison, emove this legislation from the Statute Book and honourably attend to administrative affairs with a determination not to interfere in the religious matters of the Sikhs. If not, the Government should realze that they will be subjected to the blame that they have acted cobtrary to the promise given in the past that they would not interfere in the religous qustions of the Indians and ruffled the peace of the country.

The Gudem 'Pithuri'.

46. Under this heading, the Arya Prabha received on the 18th November, writes:- . . For the sake of ascertaining the truth, we are publishing here what we have heard about this 'pithuri'. . . . . It appears to have started from the regions where the Lagarayi Pithuri' was conducted by Garamanda Mangaraju in the years 1916, 1917, and 1918. So, it may well be called either by the name of the 'Lagarayi' Pithuri' or by that of the 'Gudem pithuri'.

THE PITHURIDARS.-- The authors of the present 'pithri8 are said to be three persons, namely, Gantam Dora, a resident of Ganalapalyam situated in the Gudem hills which cannot be easily entered, Mallu Dora and Mottadam Virayya Dora, a resident of Gudem. Their leader is reported to be one Sri Rama Raju of the Alluri family, residing in Mogallu, Bhimavaram taluk, Kistna district. He seems to be acquainted with many languages. His followers are the Koyas.

THE 'PITHURI' CENTRES.-- Soem strangers are of opinion that the 'pithuri' is taking place near Narsapatnam; some think that it is in the r egion of Tuni, and others hold that it is close to Pedapuram. But the centres of this disturbance are not in the districts of Godavari and Vizagapatam, but are t o be found in the Agency tracts which are situated far away from these towns and which are hardly accessible. The places which these pithridars appear to be frequenting till now are Lambasingi, Chintapalli, Kommaggi, Vanjar Ghat, Rampal Ghat, Krishnadevupeta, Rajavommangi, Pedavaslasa, Dammanapalli, Seratanapalem, Gudem, Additgila, Pydiputta, Ramavaram, Rampa, Chodavram and others. . . .

THE CAUSES OF THE 'XXX PITHURI' -- (1) It is stated that some time ago the 'pithuri' leader had established panchayat courts in give or six villages round a bout Krishna devupeta and thus established justice in those places. But the Agency officials shattered these panchayat courts. It appears that it was only in this connexion that Mr. Raju was arrestd on the pretext of his being a non-co-operator.

But thexAgencyxo he was subsequently released as there was not sufficient evidence for convicting him. He is reported to have then stated to the people that he would certainly do much harm to the Government for their having kept him

Sitaram. in custody for six weeks for no reason whatsoever. So, some are of opinion, that this 'pithuri' may be the outcome of that incident.

(2) A muthadar who had been ordered by the Government to reamin at Vizianagram as a result of the affair connected with the Lagarayi pithuri is said to have decamped from there to his native place soon after the beginning of the swaraj agitation. Some say that this 'pithuri' is due to his party.

(3) There is also a rumour that the present disturbance is due to the way how a certain Eurasian Christian or some other official who had undertaken to construct the Duvvulur-Ammasingi road under the orders of Government, harassed and exasperated innocent Koya men and women who worked as road coolies on that occasion.

(4) But from a perusal of the communique, dated the 26th September, issued by the Government on the subject, we learn that Sri Rama Raju had startdd this 'pithuri' with a view to establish an independent kingdom for himself in the midst of the Gudem hills.

/ We have no materials to establish any one of the above causes as the real one. But truth is sure to come out at

out at last. People are saying all sorts of things from what they have heard. But wise men should not believe such rumours.

The Pithuri.

Under this heading in its editorial, the GODAVARI PATRIKA, of the 31st October, (~~xxxxxxxdxxixkxkgx~~ received on the 18th November) writes:- . . . . . . It is stated that Alluri Sitaramaraju, the leader of the 'Pithuri', left some remarks in the books of the several police stations that he had come there after visiting some other police stations before, and carried away the money and the things whichhe had seized. Further, it is said, that he sends information to the officers beforehand and visits places within the appointed time. We hear that even the magistrates are kept informed of his visit beforehand. It does not appear that the local officers or the Publicity Bureau, or the Government have either contradicted or confirmed the stories regarding Mr. Raju so as to remove the doubts among the people. This is regrettable. . . . In such powers and abilities as Mr. Raju is believed to possess, the Indians have a bling (lit-mad) faith. Such a faith among thepeople will grow unless it is contradicted. Not only the common folk but also the wise have such a fiath. When that is the case, it is needless to say anything in regard to the uncivilised people of the Agency tracts who are very ignorant. . . . It should be published in the papers for the information of the people, why the Government have failed to arrest Mr. Raju who has a scanty following. If guns are fired and the battles are fought in the Agency tracts, the hill-men will indeed get unnecessarily incited and it will not be easy to put them down. We think that eager for fighting the authorities, though able, will not draw the sword.

47. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 16th November, reports the HITAKARINI to have published thus:- There is a rumour current at Ellore that the leader of the rioters Mr. Alluri Sitharamaraju had written a letter to Mr. Mote Gangaraju, a Zamindar of the place, that if he should keep at the place and on the date specified therein the sum of twelve thousand rupees at the rate of a thousand for every lakh of his property, he would take it and that Mr. Gangaraju sent the letter to the Deputy Superintendent of Police. A correspondent writes to the same paper:- Rumour goes that, when His Excellency Lord Willingdon visits Tuni to open a newly constructed school, Mr. Alluri Sitharamaraju, the leading rioter, will go there to talk to him confidentially on certain things.

The Rampa riot.

Under this heading, the PINAKINI PATRIKA, of the 18th November, observes:- . . . It does not appear that the rioters number more than a hundred. Such a large amount as a lakh and fifty thousand rupees has been required for the arrest of so few a people. It is three months since the pithuri began; yet the polce are not able to arrest even a single rioter. But, on the other hand, the officers who have been eaten and are suffering from fever are returning every day. The intelligence of the officers who, in a moment of time, arrest thousands of non-co-operators, has failed in this circumstance. . . . If the cause of the pithuri is investigated into and removed, it will not recur, but if the trouble is put down with the sword, peace will be secured only for the time being, while the cause of it

Sitaram. The Rampa riot.

remains as it is. It will not fail to burst forth again. Can a fever patient regain his health if he were to take a cold bath to cool the heat of the fever? Among the several means for putting down an enemy, punishment is the last. May the r eaders guess for themselves of what kind the vision of those is who say that punishment should first be meted out. This argument affords the possibility for the statement that the authorities rule only with the sword.

The ANDHRA VANI, of the 29th October 1922 (received on the 23rd November), says:- The actions of Seetharamraju, the leader of the Rampa pithuri, bring to our memory the history of 'Emden' during the war. Even if we are not prepared to believe the life-history of Seetharamaraju which is chracterized by wonderful daring a nd great generosity, and even putting it down as a piece of exaggeration, the communiques which a re being issued by the Government go to confirm those very facts and do not congradict them. Till now we have received two communiques. From these we can gather that what the correspondents of the SWARAJYA published a bout this affair is all true. . . . . The police are trying ~~thix~~ their level best to put down the riot. But not even one of the rioters has yet been caught.

48. The SWATANTRA, of the 12th November, has an article under this heading from the pen of a correspondent. The following remarks find a place in it:- . . . 7 In the first place, it is very hard for the non-co-operators to have a good following in the Council, and what is worse, if these people are given the hope of being made Secretaries, Deputy Presidents, Presidents, Ministers and Members of the Execu-

O Indian! Will you go to the Legislative Councils?

tive Council, who can resist the tmpation? Will it be fair if they say that they will not give assent even to good things being carried out (in the council)? . . . . . Moreover, we need not say how favourable the conditions will be for their eneemies to go on trumpeting that the advocates of swaraj are foing a lot of harm to them and to their country. Let us grant that all this is possible. Still, Government have got many powers in their hands to carry out their own wishes, and they may therfore shelve the resolutions you may pass. They have used such powers already, and theywill use them in the future as well. After all, the loss is ours- If things come to the worst, they will cancel the Reforms themselves. What can they do then? They will have to come back to the 'Gandhi movement' as the only alternative left to them. We do not know how long it may then take forus to win SWARAJ. . . .

NCS Darkness.

50. In its leader under this heading, the CONGRESS, of the 16th November, observes:- This ancient land of India has 'emerged' from its intoxieation caused by foreign infatuation and has begun to see its true form. The heart of India which had been crushed under the shame of dependence, invited the farmer on the banks of the Sabarmati to take the place of the charioteer. He understood his duty on hearing the call, and undertook to remove the evil caused to India by the Punjab atrocities and the KHILFAT wrong. His trumpet-call has awakened those habituated to the honour of foreign civilization. He told the Government which, enjoying arbitrary power for a long time, has, by the wickedness of its authority, ventured to do things which do not bear mention, that the time has come for the day

of assertion of thei unhindered power tobe numbered. . . There is none who does not meditate on the principle of non-co-operation and talk about SWARAJ. The seeds of freedom have been sown broad-cast on the soil of the Indian heart . . . . . The majority of the people had expressed themselves against the council entry, abandoned voting and wished the andidates to refrain from action. We decided not to enter councils which resembled deceptive spider-webs, and which filled with prestige, served to enable Government to maintain their rule without properly rectifying the horrible deeds perpetrated in the Jallianwalla Bagh. We vowed not to go to the Legislative Councils in which there was none to hear our words but which were filled with all-powerful official members who did not hesitate to humiliate us again and again. We resolved not to enter the Legislative Councils, the stronghold of the British arbitrary rule which was in no way inferior to that of Russia which earned the notoriety in the modern world of being unparalleled in its cruelty. Aware that, except being scolded every now and then, nothing could be had from them we abandoned going to the councils, thinking that there was no advantge in doing so. In short we wanted tobe at a distance from the wicked man. We thought that nothing could be worse than evil company. That is why we have boycotted the Legislative Councils. We conducted the movement successfully in every way. . . . It became evident to the world which would win in the struggle between the adoption of non-violence and the worship of brute-force. . . . . . When Mahatma Gandhi had given up his attack on the Government and embarke d on constructive work, the authorites arrested him. . . . At present, the

country is in a distressed condition. The world of Indda is overcast with black clouds. Darkness has spread and the way is not visible. Mr. Gandhi, the sun of wisdom, is imprisoned within the walls of Yerrawada. The intelligent man who can take his place has not come forward. The stars alone are twinkling. People do not see the right path. There is none to show the way, but all ask what is to be done next. In this darkness, some try to go back the way by which they came and enter the Legislative Councils.

51. Under this heading, the ITACARANI, of the 13th November, observes:- The report of the Civil Disobedience

NCS A new agitation.

Enquiry Committee was published on the 5th instant. It had both a warm and a cold reception at the hands of the people. One section felt that it was not so bad as it was apprehended to be, while another said that it was not so good as it was expected tobe. The remarks of the HINDU that the report has adopted a VIA MEDIA between high expectations and serious apprehensions, appear to be ture. . . . This subject, namely, the xx entry into the Legislative Councils occupied a prominent place among all the subjectswhich had come up for discussion. It is expected that this subject will be discussed at great length in the ensuing Gaya Congress ant that a split may also reslut, if no satisfactory agreement is come to in regard to this matter.

53. In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 18th November says:- We feel highly gratified to

Comml. The Akali victory.

announce the discontinuance of the Akali arrests at Gurkabagh.

Every one would be plased to hear of the success of the Mahatma on the day of his remembrance. Though the Mahatma is incarcerated, it is being oroved in the Punjab that his doctrines are based upon truth. The Akalis have wonderfully carried out the dharma of non-violence. . . .It is only till there is an awakening among the people that arnitrariness can go. With the removal of slave mentality, the support of arbitrary rule also vanishes. The desires of the people will then be surelyaccomplished. . . . The victory attained by the Akalis will serve as a guide not only to the Punjab, but also to the whole of India in such a critical hour as this. . . . . . Until all the prisoners are set at liberty, no reconciliation with the Akalis will be possible. Hence, the prisoners cannot but be let off soon. The Akali problem is not a mere local problem.

59. The ANDHRA PATRIKA, of the 20th November, reports the SERVANT to have published an article under this heading

NCS The Creed of Gandhi.

in the course of which the following appear:- . . . . If the whole country becomes united at once, India will shake off her dependence within an hour without the interference of the outsiders. The non-violent non-co-opeation movment frees the people from all connexion with untruth, unrighteousness, cheating, delusion and wickedness. The occupation of t e country by the British has given rise to all the aforesaid evils. The safty of the nation consisits only in our escape from being caught in them. The khaddar propaganda is a pure and holy symbol of the removal of eco-

nomic poverty the lapse from dharma, and the plunder of India. The British law courts are of no use to us. They may impose fetters ~~km~~ on us, award us solitary confinement, and may throw us into jail. Buy (tey), we cannot recognise their authority to administer justice. British schools are ~~mkm~~ not useful for us. . . . . . The legislative councils are artificial and illusive intitutions and are places where people fight for titles and work for higher appointments. They are theatres where the speakers exhibit their powers of speech. There, the blind lead the blind, and pass acts to the detriment of good understanding between the Indians and the English. We have nothing to do with them.

Pro. Government and the liquor traffic.

60. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 14th November, complains that the postal authorities are inserting private advertisements relating to intoxicants in their postage stamp books and urge that the Government, consistently with its avowed sympathy with the temperance movement, ought to stop this parctice as was done in England.

The gospel of despair.

63. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 15th November, in a leading article in English, under this heading writes:- "Many of the Indian patriots have adopted a new weapon for the attainment of SWARAJYA. This weapon is no other than non-co-operation both from within and without. . . . The speeches of Surendra Nath, N. S. Sastri, Sir Sivaswami Ayyar and other sincere friends of the British Empire breathe

sentiments of desire too heart-rending to go unheeded. In spite of all this the proclamation of Victorial the noble and her successors to treat the Indians on a footing of equality with the British subjects of Their Majesties, have convinced the majority of the people of India that the British Government is the most constitutional Government on earth and that it is safer to trust them than to trust any other nation on earth. The British people ought to take advantage of this loyal sentiment, reverse the un-British policy adopted in recent years and restore the confidence which the noble British people had infused into the minds of the Indians. We are confident that the new Government, now in the womb of time, will reverse the un-British policy, extend a general amnesty to the Indian patriots, punish the wrong-doers and inaugurate a policy which will convince the Indians that the interests of England and India are identical. The gospel of despair as well as the gospel of anarchy are doubtless the offspring of unmitigated autocracy. Autocracy should be given short shrift and hangled, and British justice and fair-play should take its place".

AB Mrs. Besant and Home Rule.

64. In a leading article deprecating Mrs. Besant's attitude towards the Home Rule movement, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 21st November, remarks:- According to Mrs. Besant Indians might be given a share in the civil administration but all matters relating to the army and navy should remain in the hands of the British. This in effect means that Indians should toil day and night and be content with a hond-to-mouth living. They should pay whatever taxes the Anglo-

Indian NABOBS are pleased to impose on them. They may indicate how this revenue should be spent in civil matters but should keep their mouths shut on Military and naval expenditure and matters of foreign policy. They should have no right to enquire how the money which they pay as tames is spent by the Government. Should they presume to question about these things the British should have the use of the army and navy against them. This is Home Rule according to Mrs. Besant.

65. In a contribution of verses addressed to Gandhi and exhorting people to boycott all foreign goods and revive indigenous industries, the SATYAVADI, of the 15th November, writes:- A fight with the Europeans (the vernacular term used here is HOONA which also means a barbarian, a Hun) will land all in misery. So it is best to refrain from fighting at present. Clever indeed are your disciples if they should win a victory without a fight. . . . The people do not see their way to meet the opposition of the Europeans. Let them not serve them, let them give up speaking their tongue and then watch the result. You are rotting in jail; we in our houses are mourning for you. Imprisonment to you is only corporal confinement, but to us it is grinding grief.

NCS

Gandhi.

66. In te course of an article the VEERAKERALAN condemns the report of the Civil Disobedience Committee but thinks that it is a matter for consolation that there is strong public opposition to its views. The paper considers

(The Civil Disobedience Report and the future of non-co-operation.)

that the council entry, adovcated with a view to create trouble inside the councils, is not in keeping with the self-respect and good name of Indians and of the Congress. To try to deflect from its straight course a noble movement set on foot for the purification of the soul is not only improper but also amounts to ingratitude towards its originator, especially at this juncture when he is in jail. There is no room for despair about this movement which has caused such wide awakening in the country during the last two years, and, if theleaders will only stand firm, there will be no paucity of followers. It forecasts that after the lively discussions at the Gaya Congress Mahatma Gandhi's movements will surely gain in strength and SWARAJ will be in slight and calls upon the people to be awake and alert.

The KHILAFAT Committee on Civil Disobedience.

67. The MALAYALA MONORAMA points out that the Committee appointed by the Central KHILAFAT Committee to consider whether the country is prepared to resort to civil disobedience have unanimously arrived at the conclusion that the c ountry is not yet fit for mass civil disobedience but that Government deucational institutions, councils and foreign articles should be boycotted, and observes that the absence of any constructive schemes to replace institutions, the destruction of which the movement advocates,is its weakness and bane and has already culminated in a collapse of the movement, as indicated by the resumption of practice by vakils and the zeal exhibited by the people for entering the councils.

Khil. Ali brothers.

68. The newspapers of Travancore report the celebration in several stations in Travancore of the 'Ali brothers' day'. The SWARAT reproduces a speech delivered by one K.

K. Parameswram Pillai of Vatayattukotta on the Ali Brothers' Day at Quilon, which describes the brothers as models of perfection and quotes in extenso emotional passages from a speech of Bi Amman, themother of the brothers.

NCS 69. One Mr. Janardhanan Pillai writing in the SWARAT Non-Co-operation. makes the following among other remarks:- Subject creatures have no right to utter the word "patriotism". It then becomes "sedition" and "anarchy," according to the administrators, and they proceed to punish the same with exorbitant penalties. See, for instance, how Austia troubled Hungary, how helpless Egypt wriggled under British rule,. . . . how Ireland suffered by the unkind dealing ~~xaxfx~~ of the English, and remember the cruel dealings of the bureaucracy in India towards the majority of the inhabitants of this (Indian) Empire. . . . . They have adopted pitiable repression. . . . . We must non-co-operate with the repressors in all matters. Mr. Brockway has ~~xix~~ said among other things, 'think what will happen if Indians refuse to be labourers under Europeans'. If this comes to pass, the imperialistic greed of Europeans will subside within a month: The world has admitted the matchelessness of the Mhatmaji's non-co-operation. . . . . The Government are in a maze not knowing how to shatter this glorious movement. . . . . .

The SREEVAZHUMCOD is positively against the idea of non-co-operators entering the councils. To enter the councils and create disturbances in them will, according to it, be violent co-operation, not non-violent non-co-operation. "Anyway" it says, "after Mahatmaji disappeared from before us.

us, we are in the same predicament as the British army after Lord Kitchener's death".

The MALAYALI argues that council entryand the co-operation with dirt which it implies, will be a shame for India, that obstruction will be futile and that the possibility of captruing the councils will be doubtful in Madras and other places. If it is possible to secure a majority for non-co-operators in the councils, will it not be best to try to withdraw the miniority off the councils and thus secure a complete boycott?

The KERALA KAHALAM agrees with the abovementioned two papers in thinking that the non-co-operation movement is now-after the disappearance of Gandhi-like a boat striving to go against a strong current- of repression-with the punting pole broken.

The MANORMA, on the other hand, rejoices in the decison arrived at by eminent leaders like Pandit Motilal Nehru, Malaviyya, Kelkar, Das, etc. in favour of Council entry. It thinks that if these leaders enter the councils the strength of the peoples' party will increase tenfold, and if they should get a majority, the administration even under the present system would become twice as beneficial, and it would be much easier to get necessary changes effected in the system of Government itself.

Europeans at Trivandrum and KHADDAR.

70. The SAMADARSI, of the 11th November, denounces the Europeans at Trivandrum that stayed away from the reception

given to Dr. Tagore simply because it was rumoued that volunteers were instructed to wear KHADDAR on the occasion, and calls them 'sharks,' etc. The article goes on to say that although the ultimate effect of the widespread use of khaddar will be to reduce the robbery of wealth from India by the British and to weaken their strength, anyone with a little intelligence can easily understand that it is not on account of enmity towards the British but only on account of patriotism which every one should have, that people are so taken up with KHADDAR. In conclusion it expresses the opinion that the British Empire can emerge from the zone of misfortunr, through which it is now passing, only when Englsihmen in India come to think and feel like the noble Rev. Mr. Andrews.

Report of the Committee on Racial Distinction.

74. The MALAYALI writes:- The prime cause of ternrest in India to-day is the racial arrogance of the Europeans. The Easterners began to lose respect for the Westerners because the whitemen in their dealings treat Indians as paraiya. Adverting to the strong rumour that the Secretary of State has negatived the recommendations of the above Committee, it says:- "If the Secretary of State should dare to do this evil action which will add fuel to the fire of Indian agitation, the number of those who lean towards the Government side in India will indeed become very limited".

PRESS

The Press Bill.

After quoting the brutal case of the deporation from Indore of Sankara Prasad Durbee without any charge being brought against him or any defence being heard, the SWARAT,

of the 31st October, exclaims:- "Suchis ~~thxx~~ the sort of administration carried on in some Native States. If then not even the papers in British India can openly and fearlessly criticize the administrative abuses in such States, how heart-rending! Oh! God! , will be the pitiable condition of the helpless inhabitants of the State! Oh! how hear-rending!"

The SUPRABHATHAM, of the 25th October, says in effect: The Princes are protected. Under the change of policy consequent of the SWARAJ and non_co-operation movement, the suzerainty of the India Government has become nominal. The poor subjects of Native States are left helpless. Theyhave no protecion whatever, being left to the tender mercies of diwans or karibaris.

NCS

The question of entering councils.

79. The QUAMI REPORT, in an item, comments on the subject and supports the opinion that non-co-operators should enter the councils.

The JARIDAH-I-RAZGAR, on the 19th November, is of the same opinion.

The question of entry into Councils.

The AZAD HIND has, in its issues of the 20th and 21st November, a letter from a correspondent and opinions of Urdu papers against the entry of non-co-operators into councils.

The JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, of the 21st November, is in favour of the entry into councils.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 2ND DECEMBER 1922.

NO. 48 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) GENERAL.

1. The WEST COAST REFOMER, of the 17th November, has the following:- "Despite the repeated representations made

MP The Mappilla Rebellion.

by the district authorities prior to the rebellion the Government moved rather too slowly in checking the spread of the propaganda. The rebellion went to demonstrate the folly of the past. We are sure that neither the Government nor the people are anxious to see the diabolical scenes of the rebellion acted over again by tardy appreciation of the inevitable dangers of allowing propagandists to interfere with the situation. The expression of the fears of a probable recrudescence of the trouble by the signatories of the manifesto has therefore come in time to warn the Government against such slow-witted action as it was guilty of prior to the rebellion. We understand that the Committee is to visit us in December next. There is hardly time to take the requisite steps to prevent this dangerous enterprise. When an enterprise is unwelcome alike to the Hindus as well as Muha. maddadans we have no dount that the Government will forthwith take the necessary steps toprevent the entry into this country of theunwelcome guests. We hope the Government will not repeat its folly before rebellion".

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

7. The SWADESAMITRAN of Madras, of the 21st November 1922 observes:- The Europeans in Natal have recently passed two Ordinances which are prejudicial to the Asiaatics; but the Union Government have withheld their assent to them. Mr. Hillet, who intorduced one of these two Ordinances in the Council, has now begun to start an agitation hostile to the Indians . From the news which has reached us that the Union Government has sympathetically received a deputation of these Europeans, it has to be feared whether that Government will yeild to their obstinancy. In these circumstances, it is but natural that the Indians there feel anxious about their position. We are, therfore, bound to adopt the necessary measures in the matter and the Bombay Corporation has taken the lead. But we do not think that this alone will set mattters right. We should not only adopt the same course throughout the country, but the Congressmen should also consider what further steps should be taken.

Col — The Indians in Natal.

11. The NAVASAKTI of Madras, of the 24th November 1922 reproduces in Tamil the sigh gist of the speech reported to have been delivered by Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghosh on the date of the observance of the Gandhi day at New York in Amerca, wherein the follwing observations occur among others:- The time has come for the attainement of India's ideal by the non-co-operation movement. There is no doubt that this ideal will be gained immediately if people ouside India

NCS — Gandhi day in America.

too help the movement. Mr. Gandhi has not sufficient support. Many of Mr. Gandhi's disciples in America seem to think that it ~~[illegible]~~ is enough for them to observe Mr. Gandhi and his preachings and that they need not interfere in the politics of India. This is not desirable. So, unless they join and work with him in the political field his object cannot be fulfilled.

Eng & Ind — The Parliament: the speech of an Indian member.

17. Referring to the speech of Mr. Saklatvala, an Indian member of the House of Commons, under this heading, the NYAYA DIPIKA of the 27th November, observes:- . . It may be inferred from His Majesty the Emperor not referring to India in his speech that Mr. Bonar Law is determined to be silent in regard to this country. Though a section of the extremists ask if Indians cannot arrest the attention of the Conservative party until India also loses its peace like Ireland, we still believe that there is no necessity at all for such a state of affairs. However, as stated by Mr. Saklatvala, India cannot tolerate for ever the economic and the political restraints imposed on her. We therefore urge the ministry of Mr. Bonar Law to realize that it is well for them to discharge their duty to India by granting her SWARAJ within the British Empire so that situation may not grow worse.

The return of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri.

18. Writing on the work done by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri for India, in the various dominions of the British Empire, under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 28th November, observes:- The great benefit which India derives from his tours is that he tells the world that

Indians are happy in every way in th colonies, though the fact is quite the reverse. The true state of things is not understood by the overcredulous. They are not aware of the difficulties of the people. The authorities in the colonies as well as the high officials of England have honoured Mr. Sastri in manifild ways. The moderates are congratualting him after his return to India. But the wretched condition of the Indians in the colonies has not been aremoved even to the least extent. Their difficulties cannot be removed by the representatives of the Government. The honour of the Indians cannot be safeguarded noth within and without their country until she attains SWARAJ. The 'Democrat' of Kenya finds nothing in Mr. Sastri's attempts which is worthy of praise. . . . . . . It is enough to say that Mr. Sastri could not understand the Indian problem. He has desired small gains and ignored the main thing. At least even that desire has not been accomplished.

(c) JAILS.

The teatment of the Akalis in prison.

25. With reference to the report of the Gurudwara Prabandak Committee about the treatment of the Akalis in prison, a correspondent to the TRILINGA of the 25th November, writes:- The Government only knows what truth there is in the report. Such hard punishments as suspending men from trees, belabouring such men, imposing fetters upon them day and night making them stand during nights and disabling them to sit or lie down, should have seen their end with the days of

Dyer and O'Dwyer; but some of the Punjab authoritis could not perhaps forget the methods of their predecessors. That all the Indians are requesting the Government to remove the unrest of the Punjab meaas that they want that such misdeeds do not recur. The people will not be satisfied if the Government do not inquire into the matter and dismiss those who imposed such punishments.

Treatment of political prisoners.

26. Referring to the news of the death of one Narayana Lal, a political offender in jail at Lucknow, reported to be due to excessive hard work imposed on him, the SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 17th November, observes:- It is deploable that the authorities should be so stonehearted as to treat innocent non-co-operators worse than even war priosners. It is these enormities on the part of the authorities and not the evil cousels of political agitators that have alienated the affections of the people from the Government.

(h) RAILWAYS.

EI The RailWay Men's Conference.

33. Referring to the second All-India Railway Men's Conference recently held at Bombay and reproducing extracts from the presidential address therein, the DRAVIDAN of Madras, of the 27th November 1922 observes:- Not only are some high posts in the Railway service conferred upon Europeans and Anglo-Indians denied to the Indians, but the latter are

also given a lower scale of pay than the former. How shall we describe this kind of injustice obtaining in India itself in regard to the sons of India born and bred up here? We would deem it to be a cruel type of injustice. Again, the economic devolopment of India is greatly affected by the grant of high scales of pay to Europeans.

(K) GENERAL

Entry into Legislative Councils.

34. In the course of a leader under the subscription "V.R.," the SUTANDIRAN of Tanjore of the 12th November 1922 makes the follwiing observations among others:- . . . . . If the boycott of the Legislative Councils was found necessary at the eginning of the non-co-operation movement, that necessity has not disappeared at the present time which is its intermediate stage. Some assert that traitors to the country have got into the Councils and are doing harm. While a few foreigners, who have not the least consideration for the welfare of the country, are governing it, why should not these traitors join with them? It is only such traitors that should play the second fiddle to those who convert the country into a bloodly battle-field. Others need not have the fortune of obtaining the comradeship of the sinners who govern the country. The non-co-operators need not enter the Legislative Councils and find themselves helpess there at the sinful deeds of the rulers without knowing how to put an end to them. There is no good in those who do not possess a temperament agreeable to SATYAGRAHA entering the Councils. And the few men of this type that are availabe in the land cannot get into them.

Reverting to this subject, the SWADESAMITRAN of Madras, of the 22nd November 1922 observes:- . . . . . To oppose the Government by creating obstatles in the Legislative Councils is a practice obtaining in all the countries of the world. If it is contrary to the principle of non-violence to pralyse the autocratic rule carried on by this Government, it is aslo inconsistent with that principle to cause trouble to it with the object of reforming the same. Creating obstructions is not, therefore an act worthy of blame, but is, on the otherhand, one that is in consonance with our ideal.

In the course of a leader appealing to the people in the Tamil land to boycott the Legislative Councils, the Navasakti of Madras, of the 24th November 1922 remarks that the attempt of some non-co-operators to enter the Councils is really tantamount to cutting the throat of the Goddess of Liberty, and adds:- Ever since the Non-co-operation movement began, the majority of people in the country have been actuated by a spirit of liberty. The spread of SWADESHISM in the country and the strong spirit of non-violence prevailing therin are the outcome of the boycott of the Legislative Councils. The undaunted courage with which the lions of non-co-operation met the wave of repression started by the bureaucracy is again the outcome of the same boycott. The promotion of non-co-operation without getting into the Legislative Councils, instead of getting into the Councils and adopting non-co-operation there, will make even those who get into the Councils following the principle of co-operation realize the defects of the reforms and adopt non-co-operation. We would remind our friends that all the great

leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Lajpat Rai and the Ali brothers have gone to jail only to strengthen the boycott of the Legislative Councils.

The Council entry.

Writing on the subject of the Council entry, the CONGRESS, of the 23rd November, observes:- When candidates stand for election to the Legislative Councils, according to Pandit Nehru's opinion, theyhave to tell the voters, that they are going there to break the machinry of Government by obstructing both good and evil and making the prosecution of business impossible. When they so give out their views, the Government officers who are throwing innumerable obstacles in the way of the non-co-operation movement, will at once do their business. They will threaten the voters. They will not hesitate to give bribes which need not necessarily be in the shape of money. They will not hesitate to give bribes which need not necessarily be in the shape of money. They will try to win over the boters by securing for them small gains, by giving them contracts, by granting them pattas forlands, and by doing such other acts of kindness. We know the case of a Deputy Collector, who during the last boycott of the Councils, threatened a village karnam that he would dismiss him if he had failed to bring the voters of his village. Such things may now occur to any extent. If, out of fear, the people yield to such an injustice of the Government, (some) may say that there is no truth in the statement, that the cuntry has adopted the non-co-operation movement. But that the country has adopted the ~~matter of money~~. The constituency will not be less in extent than a district. When a candidate completes

his tour all through the distirict and by the time the elections are over, he will have spent at least five thousand rupees. . . . . All the/ does not hesitate to exercise such powers frequently even when the moderates who are submissive to the authorities at every step are in the Councils, will become more antagonistic to the non-co-operators than before and carry on its administration without caring for them.

The entry into the Legislative Councils.

In its leader under this heading, the RYOT, of the 19th November, says:- . . . . Nowhere else has there been such an agitation connected with the non-co-operation movement as there was in the Guntur district. The contest of the non-co-operators in the recent elections of the Guntur Taluk Board in such a district has wholly failed, and this makes it clear that the doctrine of non-co-operation has not been assimilated by the people. Under such circumstances, what isthe use of preaching against entering the councils? If those, who hold that in the welfare of the country lies thier own welfare, are to enter the councils, there will certainly be much more benefit obtained by the people than what is accruing to them to-day. Whether as much profit as the people count upon may accrue or not, entering the Legislative Councils will certainly be for good and never ø for evil.

The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee's Report regarding the entry into the Legislative Councils.

Under this heading, the HITAKARINI, of the 20th November, writes:- . . . . . We say that it is not advantageous to enter the Legislative Councils,

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for we have personally experienced that the words of the people's representatives will carry no weight so long as the disease of hypocrisy does not leave these councils. We ask if it is not ridiculous for us to engage ourselves in a work which is of no benefit to us. We regret that the argument that, by entering the Councils and creating deadlocks, we may be able to mend, stop, efface, kill , get rid of, or end the administration, will not only be opposed to the first principle (of non-co-operation), but will also be instrumental in making us commit the sin of encouraging the administrative policy of the authorities. So says a certain section of the Nationalists.

The Civil Disobedience Committee.

The LOKAMANYAN agrees with the view of this committee that the country is not yet ripe to resort to mass civil disobedience, tries to refute the arguments advanced by the committee for council entry, and emphatically protests against such a false and unwise step.

NCS Futility of Council entry.

Writing about the futility of Council entry for obstruction the YUVABHARATHAM makes the following observation about the Government:- The Government will not be embarrassed in any way by our entering the councils. Only those who are respectable will have any compunctions of that sort. A Government that was ready to send to jail a leading pandit, 70 years old, for (his) opinion--Is there anything that such a Government will hesitate to do? Who knows what a

Government may not do, that did shut up in prison Mahatma Gandhi the one man among men in the world to-day, the incarnation of truth, the prophet of peace? Can we gauge the mentality of a Government that did persecute absolutely innocent men and women, youg and old, without number, in the Punjab?, etc.

The same paper in another article compares the new Reforms to the Rakshasa witch, Surpanaka, who tried to entice Sri Rama and Lakshmana by her bewitching dance, points out how some of the non-co-operating leaders seem unable to shake off the glamour, having lost their head under her spell, and observes that the best way to dispose of her is to cut her nose, viz. the electorate, from off her.

36. The SAIPHUL ISLAM of Madras, of the 16th November 1922 publishes from the pen of a correspondent, an imaginary dialouge between two persons one of whom wishes to know whether the other would like to befriedn men of the type of Ravana and Sakuni, who are embodiments of evil, to which the latter replies that he would court the company of only those who excel othersin every quality. A casual reference is made in the dialogue to the undesirability of befriending foreigners, who differ from the Indians in customs and manners, and there is a glowing description of Mr. Gandhi, whose life principle is stated to be non-violence. The information is also given that the best way of befriending him is to utter the MANTRAS OF VANDE MATARAM and ALLA HO AKBAR and follow his principles.

NCS

Whom to berfriend?

The Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee.

40. In an article on this subject under the superscription 'Varadarajulu' the Tamil Nadu of Salem, of the 19th November 1922 , writes:- It is detestable that the members of this Committee should have expressed varied opinions instead of suggesting the means necessary for beginning civil disobedience or non- payment of taxes. By entering the Councils and obstructing the work of the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Government it is stated that the world will come to know that the people do not co-operate with the Government and will laugh at the disorderly ~~xxx~~ conduct of the Government. But SWARAJ for India does not consist in the Government being laughed at and the British are not the people to be afraid of the ridicule of others. Rather it is contrary to their national creed to take notice of it. It has become patent that the Government do not care either for the members of the JUSTICE party or the Moderates, the adopted sons of the bureaucrats, who are determined to support the Government even by proving treacherous to the country. The regard which the Government have for the Legislative Councils has become evident from the fate of the resolution brought in the Local Legislative Council anent the Dravidas and the Adi-Dravidas and from the passing of the Princes Press Protection Bill in the Legislative Assembly. To what extent the resolutions of the Government of India and the recommendations of the Legislative Assembly are discarded in in England will be seen from the forced resignation of Mr. Lloyd George were received. In the present circumstances, there is no other course for attaining SWARAJ than the adoption of civil disobedience. It will not be attained simply by

entering the Legislative Councils or by carrying out the Bardoli resolution. The responsibility of training the people to sacrifice their all and to be prepared to give up even their lives for the sake of SWARAJ rests with the leaders.

Continuing its comments on this report, the SUKHODAYAM of Arni, of the 23rd November 1922, remarks that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress advocated non-co-operation because the world would laugh at the people if they should co-operate with a Government that persistenly pursues a course prejudicial to their liberty, self-respect and self-determintion, and adds:- Such co-operation will not only strengthen the autocratic rule butwill also lead to our being despised by the world. If it is granted that co-operation with a Government which flouts public opinion is unrighteous, the triple boycott of institutions which, on the one hand, increase the irresponsibility of the Government, on the other, promote the slavery of the country, is the only rigteous course to adopt. On a matter of principle, this boycott cannot be separated from the non-co-operation movement. Though the expected results have not been achieved in full, Government schools, law courts and Legislative Councils have lost their regard. These three institutions are the life-centre of the autocratic Governmen and comprise the machinery for perpetuating our slavery. To expect that any public good will be derived through them is but an illusion. The moment this triple boycott is completed, the Government will be paralysed. It is because that has not been done, the Government is still dragging on, though its life-centre

xfxtke has been attacked. Why not those who advocate non-co-operation within the Legislative Councils also advocate non-co-operation within the other two institutions? This, they do not do, beause it will give room to ridicule. Creating obstacles in the Legislative Councils too will, in our opinion, have the same effect. Constructive work and civil disobedience alsone will get SWARAJ, while entry into the Councils will not only put an end to x constructive work and non-co-operation but will also perpetuate our slavery. The people should, therefore, be on the alert.

Col/. The Bombay Corporation and the Colonies.

41. Reproducing in Tamil the resolutions passed by the Bombay Corporation regarding the attitude to be assumed by that Corporation towards the British Colonies / which do not accord a fair treatment to the Indians settled therein, the DRAVIDAN of Madras, of the 21st November 1922 urges the other corporations in this cuntry to adopt these resolutions and adds that even the Local Boards should come forward to pass such resolutions and teach the Colonials a lesson. The LOKOPAKARI of Madras, of the 23rd idem, also commends the action of the Bombay Corporation and writes:- It is a world-known fact that the Indians in the Colonies are treated worse than brutes. This step of the Bombay Corporation will create some anxiety in the minds of the whites in the Colonies and lead them to ponder a little over the unjust acts committed by them. Will Madras follow suit? Such resolutions should be moved even in the Legislative Councils.

43. Observing that the Government have stopped arresting

the Akalis and that they now enter the Gurukabagh without any obstruction, the SUKHODAYAM of Arni, of the 23rd November 1922, writes:- The Aklis have at first contravened the order not to enter the Gurukabhagh and maintained their right to enter the same. They have then violated the orders of the Police prohibiting the cutting of trees and entered prison by thousands and have now established that right as well. In a veryshort time, even those who are in prison will come out and attain glory. Devotion is strength and truth is freedom! Non-violence is the way to peace. Repression leads to a failure. Long live Mahatma Gandhi who taught this!

The Akali struggle.

The NAVASAKTI of Madras, of the 24th November 1922 publishes a communication from the pen of a correspondent in regard to the Akali struggle wherein the following observations find place among others:- We may say that the second act of the drama of the Akali striggle has in a way come to a close. There is no doubt that the Government were astonished at the readiness of the Akalis to come forward in JATHAS of 100 each every day, prepared to undergo several hardships, even after 5,600 men have been arrested and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. It is certain that, when a true thistory of India is written, these ~~heiric~~ heroic acts will be inscribed in letters of gold. True religious zeal grew into a big flame and afflicted the enemy. A bogus settlement has been made as if the Mahant has leased out the the land of Gurukabhag to Sir Gangaram. What te Akalis want is that

the lands of their Guru should belong to Him alone. Though the Government have stopped the arrest of the Akalis, it does not mean that this movement has come to an end. The third and last act of the drama has begun just now. The Akalis will not recede until their Guru's shrines come under their contrrol, their brethren in jail are released and they are compensated for their sufferings. We believe that the Government too would have learnt a lesson from this. They should know that they cannot destroy the national spirit that is in evidence now in this land of Bharata by beating with sticks, by wounding with bayonets and by the authority of the Police and the Military.

The Akali struggle.

The SWARAT thinks that the Government have met with a severe reverse in the Akali struggle and that the Government that believed that they could subdue a valiant community by using brute-force in a way unbecoming to a civilized Government will never learn a lesson if they have not already learned one, and observes that it is really a sight to see how the demon of repression which reigned supreme in Gurukabhag in all its horror and nudity retraces its steps in fear at the mere sight of SATYAGRAHA. The paper is of opinion that the recall of the police from Gurukabhag and the stopping of the arrest of the Akalis will not put an end to the Akali struggle unless the Government cease interfering in matters connected with Gurudwaras, and that te efforts of the Gov rnment in the matter of passing the Gurudwara Bill, in spite of strong public opposition, are indications of their obstinacy in the matter, and observes that the Government should remember that by their policy they are kindling the fire of a vaiant community whose veins

are filled with the blood of warriors, and that if they do not remember that they are playing with fire the future consequence will be serious. The paper, therfore, calls upon the people to resort to non-violent non-co-operation to establish a system of Government responsible to the people, in place of the present system, and concludes with the remark that such an excellent system will be established in the country only when the trumpet call of SATYAGRAHA is head in all parts of India. The YUVAKERALAM also expresses similar sentiments. The VEERAKERALAM observes that the soul-force of the Akalis has gained a victory over the brute-force of the Government.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

44. Referring to the news thatthehealth of Lala Lajpat Rai is such as to give room for anxiety, the SWADESAMITRAN, of Madras of the 24th November 1922 observes that it is understood that the Government have not accepted the recommendation of te doctors that he should be permitted to take a walk every day for a short distance outside the jail precincts and remarks:- The Government that have earned a great fame for the Punjab by means of LATHI blows will not, of oourse have the mind to allow even this conveneience at once to Lalaji. As this news will create great consternation in the minds of the people, we are bound to warn the Government that they will be taking a great responsibility on themselves if they do not provide the necessary facilities for the improvement of his health.

The O'Dwyer Memorial.

50. Referring to the opening ceremony of the O'Dwyer Memorial Military School in Lahore, the HITAKARINI of the

20th November observes:- . . . . The Military Training School for Indians which some of the Punjab leaders have established to perpetuate the memory of Sir Michael O'Dwyer as if in praise of the human sacrifice 'perpetrated' during his regime on the 6th A pril 1919 is to-day coming to fruition. But there is cogent reason for our inability to appreciate the powers of judgment which some of the Punjabees who have co-operated in this direction have shown. The fact that a memorial has been erected to Sir M. O'Dwyer while no such thing is done to General Dyer who was like the presiding-deity of the(O'Dyer'while no such thing is done to General Dyer who was like the) O'Dwyer administration as well as of the Jallian wallah Bagh massacre, shows the ingratitude of the leaders. The Punjab leaders have committed a mistake in not thinking that Sir M. O'Dwyer's fame is due to the instrumentality of General Dyer's actions, for the latter was the very life of the administration of the former. We think that, without a memorial for Dyer, the O'Dwyer memorial will look like a dead corpse, and it is this regret onour pat that prevents us from congratulating the leaders responsible for getting up this memorial. However, we advise that the students in this school should be imparted instruction in the history of the Dyer-O'Dwyer administration of the Punjab, and we also wish that they themselves should have Dyer and O'Dwyer as ideals for their conduct.

52. In the course of this leader under this heading in

MR Is it possible?

favour of the boycott of the Legislative Councils, the MATRUSEVA, of the 17th November, observes:- . . . . The Act

of SWARAJ declared by the British people to have been newly granted by them to India was framed by the British statesmen and not by ordinary persons. It was the product of those who knew what was neneficial and what was injurious for them to accept, and not of thughtless ignorant men. It was not the policy of the British statesmen to lose their hold in granting a boon to our country. They had, therefore, acted with due care. It is not at all possible for the advocates of deadlocks to wag their tails in the councils of the present day. They may stand as candidates and obtain votes. Having entered the Legislative Councils, they may cease to attend them, or attending them, provide by their strange actions some rest and amusement at intervals for the members and the bureaucracy. . . . . . In our opinion, it is impossible either to deprive the Government of the quorum required for a meeting, or oppose the officials as the advocates of deadlocks are not in a majority. . . . Moreover, the power of determining the quorum belongs to the Governor-General. Getting scent of it, he may do whatever he likes. . . . .

PRO

Non-co-operation and the abkari revenue.

55. Referring to the article contributed to the AMERICAN Issue by Mr. Pussyfoot Jonson on 8the regard shown by Indians towards the anti-drink campaign' and the Report of the Abkari Department for 1921-22 under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 22nd November, writes:- According to Mr. Jonson, India is at any moment fit for the wholesale prohibition of drink which however is not progressing fairly well only on account of the obstacles thrown in its way by the authorities. In all the twenty-six districts, there appears to be a heavy fall in the income of the toddy sales.

The Nellore district occupies the topmost place in regard to this, while Guntur comes next. . . . . . It is no wonder that this causes heart-burning aong the officials. The BOard of Revenue has therefore reproached the non-co-operation movement to its entire satisfaction. Its report for the year 1921-22 is full of the reproach of the non-co-operators which appears to be the outcome of wicked anger. But the truth of Mr. Jonson's remark becomes clear if we consider how the non-co-operation movement has worked for purity. It is an illusion to suppose that the Government who have a passion for the abkari revenue will help he prohibition of drink. They will always be in quest of a way to get increased revenue. Many that have carried on the anti-drink campaign have been put in jail. . . It is highly audacious on the part of the Government to have written in the Abkari Report that the incentive of the non-co-operators in this regard is accompanied by violence. It is known to the world that the non-co-operators never took to violence even in the least. There appears to be nothing to support the allegation of the Government. . . It is noteworthy that the authorities themselves have recognized the success of the non-co-operators in making the landlords refuse to let their trees for toddy-drawling. Even the income accruing from foreign liquors has decreased. There appears to be a fall even in regard to the income from other liquors. We can understand their innate idea from the fact that the authorities lamented, instead of feeling gratified at such a result. Even though 'Excise' has come within the portfolio of the Minister, the mind of the authorities has not changed. The authorities have not only had recourse to immoral ways for the abkari revenue but they have also undertaken to trouble the reformers. It is not surprising that they hate the non-co-operators.

56. Referring to the article writen to the SUNDAY TIMES by Lord Meston under this heading

EX Will the expenditure decrease?

the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 24th November observes:- . . . . By his suggestions, Lord Meston has, as it were, fettered Lord Inchcape. After all, the recommendations of Lord Inchcape's Committee will not be very different from the suggestions of Lord Meston. When the big items of expenditure in civil and military administration which crush the country are not cut down, there is no good derived from the reduction of small items of expenditure here and there. Government will not fail to restore those items under the pretext of necessity. Income and expenditure will not be favourable unless the administration is carried on in consonance with the wishes of the people Such a result will accrue only from the attainment of SWARAJ.

59. Writing on the subject of Council entry, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 25th November

Comml. The Council entry and the Akali movement.

refers to the Akali movement, and observes:- The arbitrary nature of the Punjab authorities which has been gaining strength from the days of Sir Michael O'Dwyer has to-day become fruitless. The Akalis have been able to prove the futility of brute-force before soul-force. It is worthy of note that the mahants have agreed to make over the other Gurudwaras also to the Akalis. In this way, the honour of the Punjab has been restored. The Example of the Akalis will form a source of encouragement not only locally but also to the whole country. Can it be dreamed that such an encouragement can be had from the Legislative Councils?

60. Referring to the statement of Mr. Ramalinga Reddi in the Legislative Council that

Sitaram — The Rampa pithuri.

the causes of the 'Rampa pithuri' may be investigated after it is put down, the CONGRESS, of the 23rd November, remarks:- Mr. Reddi does not see that, to put down the pithri, its causes should be removed, and that it is futile to tryto suppress it by the force of authority. Just as the illusive hope that, by authoritative repression they can put down the non-co-operation movement which was started for the attainment of the freedom of the country, is troubling the Government officers, so also the illusion that, without an investigation into the causes, the pithuri should be suppressed, is troubling Mr. Reddi. It is to be regretted that the members of the Legislative Councils speak like this, when it is their duty to find out the grievances of the rioters who, without guaging their own strength and that of the Government, are unnecessarily subjecting themselves to troubles.

The ANDHRA VANI, of the 5th November, observes:- No

The Rampa riot.

fresh news of the Rampa riot has been heard this week. There is nothing particular in the third communique issued by the Government. No facilities have been afforded to the correspondents of newspapers to publish news. Not only are there no indications of the cessation of the riot, but there arises a doubt that it may spread still more.

61. The CONGRESS, of the 23rd November, refers to the

PP — The Mappilla prisoners.

statement of the Hon'ble Mr. Knapp that Government are

trying to stop the further release of the Mappilla prisoners on the g~~o~~round that the latter surmise that the victory of the ~~Mappilla prisoners on the~~ Angora Government is the reason for their liberation, and remarks:- This is very strange. The victory of Angora has naturally entailed loss on the British Government. But it cannot but be surprising to say that evil ideas are being engendered among the innocent Mappillas. The Government recognized the justice of releasing, after the suppression of the revolt, those who, in a moment of exasperation, had forgotten themselves and resorted to a rebellion. It is improper on its part to change its mind for some irrelevant reason and trouble the prisoners any longer. The words of Mr. Krishnan Nayar in support of this attitude are also strange. As the Hindus and the Muhammadans should live permanently in this country, it should be understood by the big men who go to the Legislative Councils and who pretend to be popu~~l~~lar representatives, that on them lies the responsibility to try to sink mutual differences and promote union.

The message of Gandhi.

63. The MATRUSEVA, of the 24th November contains an article under this heading from the pen of a correspondent in the course of which remarks such as the following occur:- Even the intellect of those who have long been a subject race will become dependent. The mind will become fickle. The thinking and the creative faculties will be dwarfed. The power of judgment will 'sink'. The lustre of the soul will alsodiminish. Empty fame alone will shine forth in the name of goodness. But real foodness will shed tears. Wherever you may turn your eyes, you will find crooked wit, the means of gaining royal patronage is education.

Service alone will be lofty honour. The society of beggars will be the deliberative council. Those alone are learned men, who have received royal honour. Those who hold offices alone are respectable. Office alone goes by the name 'truth'. Many will know that the temporal rule alone which can display violence is the power of virtue . Those who do a deed useful to the world will be tormented as seditionists. Thougtful persons will be reiduculed as men with deranged brains. An evil and relentless custom will trample down under foot the DHARMA whichis eternal and is (coalesed words and compound words according to the Telugu grammar) will be known by the falso name of panidts. Those people, who are devodd of desire and who strive by independent thinking for the greatness of the multitude, will become enemies to selfish persons. Weakness will be called by the maka name of renunciation and cruelty will go by the name valour. Fear will have the good name of Z devotion. Timid people will have offices, and heroes will suffer imprisonment. Lovers of fa flattery will command respect and honour. They are the leaders of the country. They are thelegislators. Their conduct xitself is righteousness. Their word is law. In their dictionary, 'cringing' goes by the name of obedience, and impotence and obedience are synonymous terms. By the subjection of one hundred years, the standard of action of our countrymen has become so mischievous. Is it not natural? Abandoning true-thinking, the whole populace is running after hopes which can only confer momentaryhappiness, Leaving aside the consideration of what constitutes righteousness and unrighteousness, many people in their fondness for worldly happiness, are deceiving their loving friends and

relatives and are only ruining themselves in theend. . . . Such a wretched lot has befallen our Mother India for some years past. . . . . Many have become scythes in the hands of their masters. Is it possible to witness a meaner condition than this?. . . . . To the mainds of all the western people who regard wealth alone as strength and try to have everything under their control for its attainment, their guilt has certainly become apparent though they may not confess it themselves. . . . . . Many people who are immersed in inhuman ways are repenting. . . . . Swami Vivekananda himself, the personification of renunciation, explained to the western people that the hankering after mere money-making was very mean.

The theory of non-co-operation.

64. In the course of its leader under this heading, the MATRUSEVA, of the 24th November, observes:- . . . . Those who believe that SWARAJ relates only to political life and are prepared to carry on an operation on the Indian body-politic are, to that extent, only like the physician who, not knowing the pulse-test and determined to scrape off the swellings of a patient, which are due to biliousness, subjects to a surgical opeation the whole body. We should, therfore first of all, turn all or attention from theparrot-like political platitudes taught tous by western people, examine ourselves and devise ways and means. There is a good deal of difference between our nature and that of the westerners. We cannot, therefore, build with their instruments the oplitical edicie, namely, SWARAJ, which can reflect thefull expression of our corporate life. The whole western political system is based on the ethics of vilence. Aong with

Lord Jesus Christ, they sent the ethics of non-vilence to Heaven, and we shall have to earn the good fortune of proving that such a Heaven is no other than India. Whatever may be the case in their practical life, in theory at any rate, the majority does not suffer violence; but the minority does. Consider and see. The whole western life is the rule of the majority, i.e. the rule which is carried on according to the wishes of the many. . . . The Conservatives may be in power to-day, or the Labour party may come to power to-morrow; but the whole western civilization, according to their character as well as their best theories, is based on brute-force, on the practice of the few or the many uniting with others out of fear for violence and doing things in unison with them. Their appeal in the last resort is to guns, cannon balls and aeroplanes and not to good qualities of man. . . . .

Commul. The Akalis and self-sacrifice.

66. Under this heading, a stanza contributed by a correspondent to the ANDHRA VANI, of the 5th November, reads as follows:- 'As if the great penance of Mahatma Gandhi has shone forth in the Punjab, as if the steady strength of the soul of the ascetics of non-co-operation has entered the valiant Punjabis, as if the divine resplendence of the peace of the courageous Indians has gone to the Sikh-lions, as if the wonderful forbearance of the ascetics of yore has shone forth in the minds of the Punjabis, and as if thousands of Prahladas have taken birth, the strength of the sacrifice of the Akalis has been most wonderfully manifesting itself with patriotism and is praised by the world.

70. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 22st November, remarks:- In effect the KHILAFAT Civil Disobedience Committee appear to relish only a destructive programme. It is really surprising that the committee knowing a they do the fialure of t e boycott of schools and the low level to which the affairs of the councils have drifted should still have come to their present decision. Reports of this kind are apt only to confuse and mislead the masses and shake their faith in non-co-operation when the leaders ane so very changeful. Where were these differences of opinion when the MAHATMA was present? Is this the time to subvert the root principle itself with those countless heterogeneous views?

Khil. The Report of the KHILAFAT Civil Disobedience Comittee.

72. The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 24th November, writes:- The SATYAGRAHA of the Akalis has, in some measure, gained a victory. The Government have displayed some far-sightedness by stopping the excesses on their part. These latter and the dreadful suffering they caused could easily have been avoided. In a sese, we ought to thak the Government ~~for~~ for what has happened. These events have disproved the belief among the followers of the MAHATMA that mass civil disobedience was impracticable at the present time.

Commul. The Akali incident.

73. Apropos of the Delhi Conference and Mrs. Besant's views regarding self-government the SADHVI, of the 24th November, remarks:- We cannot attach much value to Mrs. Besant's view that SWARAJ can be had by petitioning the British Parliament. It is possible, as some people say, that if

AB Mrs. Besant and Home Rule.

SWARAJ xxx is granted, Indians will be loyal and the British Empire in India will be enduring. Or it may happen, as in the United States of America, that the two peoples will develop a deeper antipathy between them. Whatever be the result, there is no prospect of SWARAJ by a mere petition to the Parliament. It can only be attained by a complete identity of interests among the different classes and communities in India and a conciliatory attitude towards England.

74. In an article under the heading 'Fitness for freedom, the NAVAYUGA of the 23rd November, in a leading article

NCS Fitness for freedom.

observes:- The Akali agitation furnishes excellent proof of the fact that mass civildisobedience can be adopted without carrying out in detail every item of the Congress programme. What is the real cause of the success of the Akali SATYAGRAHIS? It is their deep faith in their ideal even under the most trying circumstances and their readiness to sacrifice even their lives, if necessary, that brought them victory. Have the people of this country the same unswerving faith in their goal of SWARAJ? Are they prepared to pay the price which it maight ential? Though Mahatma Gandhi laid before them a hig ideal and wanted them to strive for it, how few are the persons who actually bent their energies to the task? How far was the triple boycott carried out? Mere cries of 'Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai' or resoutions at public meetings to follow Mahatma Gandhi do not warrant our saying that the country is fit to obtain SWARAJ. Every man should be prepared to sacrifice his all for the sake of freedom . . . . . How many more have made sacrifices in this country even as Mahatma Gandhi has done? Is there not an impression in all quarters that with the arrest of Congress

leaders the non-co-operation movement is no lohger openly advocated? A change in the mentality of the people and their preparedness to live and die for their country are the two things on which SWARAJ depends. . . . . Devotion to the country should be instilled in the minds of young India through extensive propaganda regarding patriotism among students. . . . . Private resource alone can never be sufficient to undertake this huge problem of mass education. National schools started by the non-co-operators have been rapidly dwindling for want of funds. Since Education as a transferred subject is in the hands of the Ministers, we should take advantage of the Reforms by entering the councils and should go on with our activities till complete SWARAJ is attained.

Bolshevism and caste arrogance.

76. The SAHODARAN, of the 4th November, has an appreciative article on Lenin and Bolshevism and advises arrogant high castes who oppress the depressed classes to take a lesson from the fate of the Russian Czar.

Khil

The collapse of KHILFAT agitation.

77. The KERALA PATIRKA thinks that, with the deprivation of all temporal authority from the KAHLIF, the whole basis of the KHILFAT agitation in India has collapsed and that the agitation will now certainly disappear.

The Congress Enquiry Committee.

78. The LOKAMANYAN points out that the opposition shown by Raja Vasudeva Raja and others and by newspapers belinging to the Government party to the enquiries of the Congress Committee into the cause of the Malabar disturbance must be

prompted by the Goverhmet, and that the police officers in Malabar are said to have become despondent ever since they heard that this committee was visiting Malabar! "It seems the Circle Inspector, the XX C.I.D. Inspector and Ammu Sahib and others are frantically running about in Calicut. 'Do I look like having stolenthe brass plate?'" It xxxxxx thinks that the Government and their adherents are making herculean efforts to create a bad impression amongst the people regarding this committee, and calls upon the people not to fall into their net as no other committee can be more fitted to hold an impartial enquiry into the matter than the Congress Ehquiry Committee. The MUSLIM SAHAKARI understands that some people are going a bout trying to gather evidence against Muslims and thinks that the enquirieis of this committee are likely to do more harm than good to the Muslims of Malabar. The KERALA PATRIKA fails to understand why the Congress people should insist upon doing a thigg whichis not required by the leaders of the people (Hindus, Muhammadans or Europeans) of Malabar and reaffirms that it is opposed to the proposed enquiry.

British interference in Native States.

88. Adverting to Mr. C. R. Das's statement that the Maharaja of Kashmir is not to be blamed for the order served on him not to enter Kashmir and that His Highness was only acting under the pressure of 'external influence', the SWARAT exmines the working of the s me'external influence' xxx in Travancore. It points outhow the tr aty between the Travancore and the British Government aas onlyone of alliance as between friends for the prupose of co-operation but how this in practice has turned out now to be one in which the

British authorities have beeome not only advisers but controllers of the affairs of the Native State. It points out further that it is the British Residents and other officers appointed from British service that have been gradually working up this conditionof subsevience and pleads for mustering of public opinion and opposition against the importation of Dieans from the British service. In the face of public opposition this 'external infouence' must turn back and then and ten only will the people of Travancore be enabled to enjoy undefiled, the SWARAJ which they are said to have.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 9TH DECEMBER 1922.

NO. 49 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II-HOME ADMINISTRAEIONS

(k) GENERAL.

4. JUSTICE, of the 5th December, writes:- " The authorities of the India Office are evidently under the impression that

MR Reformed Government.

all that Coue-ism. 'Let the Indians repeat every morning that "there is no going back upon the Reforms" and there will be no reason for them to develop any political distemper'. This, in effect, is what Whitehall tells us now. Whatever might be the volume of evidence pointing in a contrary direction, let but the Indians firmlybelieve in the Peelite formula of 'no backing out', and, as in the

case of the Coue-patients, there would be perfect health and contentment inthe body politic. There may be a lot to be said in favour of this suggestion, but for our part we are not prepared to accept it at tis face calue. We want somethigg more substantial than mere auto-suggestion to keep or faith alive in the Reforms; we want them to be worked in the progressive and liberal spirit in which they were ofrmulated and enacted and shall not be content with singing the praises of and admiring the insittutions and machinry which they have established. Indeed, if all that the Reforms could do is simply to inaugurate legislative coun ils with majorities of elected members but with no more powers and responsibilities than those possessed by their predecessors of the pre-Reform period, well may the public agitate for their abolition, which at least would bring about a reduction in public expenditure.. . . . The wearisome repetition by Lord Peel of the hackneyed formula, 'there is no going back upon the Reforms' may satisfy half a dozen individuals in this c-ountry whose faithis more in words than in deeds; but ti cannot saisfy anybody else. All of us, on the other hand, look to the Secretary of State to give practical proofs of his much-vaunted solicitude for the success of the Reforms; and so long as they are not forthcoming, India will only be disposed to look upon his loud professions of good will and sympathy with a sense of boredom and disgust".

5. The HINDU, of the 8th December, has the following:-

Indian Medical Service.

"Of the many iniquitous and summary ways of disposing of the Indian tax-payers' money the recent terms offered to

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Indian Medical Service candidates, to which by the way a corection was issued by Reuter yesterday, will doubtless be considered most flagrant, though in a matter like this and with our knowledge of the ways of officialdom we would not like to be positive. True, there are only thirty nominations to be made this year; and the original terms, as slightly modified --not in our favour, surely--now, works at very much over a sum of twenty-one lakhs of rupees, as Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, who has held various districts charges, points out in a feeling communication to be seen elsewhere in this issue. But the question raises very vital issues. There is not merely the reassertion of the principle of foreign domination in all our essential services there is not merely the consequent loss of the taxpayers' hard-earned money, especially with financial bankruptcy all but confessed: there is the further loss- which is by far the heaviest since there is no known means of compensating for it-- of so much opportunity which ought justly to come to the sons of the soil".

The arrest of Sankaracharya.

6. SWARAJYA, of the 8th December, observes:- "The arrest of Jagad Guru Sri Sankaracharya of Saradapith willbring home to many millions of Hindus as nothing else would have done the position of the country and theHindu community under an alien administration. In the religious world of Hinduism the occupants of the thrones of Sankaracharya hold aunique position. They are not only divines versed in sacred lore but also men who possess pontificial authority over their

followers. Autocratic Governments, of course, do not recognize the inviolability of any person, be he Pope or Pontiff; and this should warn us that even our most sacred institutions are not safe from attack when an alien government rules over us".

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VERNACULAR PAPERS

I-FOREIGN POLITICS.

Col Indian labourers in Malaya.

18. The TAMIL NADU, of the 26th November, publishes a graphic account of the miserable condition of Indian labourers in the rubber estates of Penang and other places and, describing how the modesty of the wife of one of the labourers was outraged by the planters and others there and how thereby she became a harlot, warns the people in India to be cautious in emigrating to Malaya.

Col. Indians in Ceylon.

19. The SUTANDIRAN, of the 26th November, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an article on this subject, in which he asserts that the Indians have, as a matter of fact, obtained no relief under the new Labour law enacted in Ceylon and continues:- It should,on the other hand, be said that their hardships have now become greater than before. I have already stated that in some cases the owners of the plantations and in some others the KANGANIS have advanced money to the labourers and it is a fact that the latter have

done so at th request of the former. Under the new law, the owners of plantations have cancelled thedebts which the labourers directlyowe to them. But th y have made no arrangements regarding the moneys advanced by the KANGANIS in their behalf. Some KANGANIS have taken promissory notes from the labourers for the a oums due to them and they will take legal action onthese labourers in the British law courts in Indai and get possession of their ancestral property, as they have full knowledge of the property, etc., owned by the labourers here. Are not the hardship s which these ~~imx~~ labourers suffer in the Ceylon plantations enough? Should their property, etc., in India also be seized? Have they gone to Ceylon only to lose even the little they have here?

The Asiatic employees under the Government of Kenya.

26. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 1st December, reports the 'Democrat' of Kenya to have written thus:- . . . An Asiatic officer, in the Government of Kenya, works very hard. It is no exaggeration to say that the Government is carried on purely by the Asiatic clerks. They do thewhole work. As the European officers are frequently transferred and new appointments are made, the Asiatic clerk alone knows the whole work of the department. The European officers knwo nothing of the work previouslydone and how the work in hand ought tobe done. It is only some Pillai or a Babu, who is an Asiatic, that ought to guide the European. The work of the European officer consisit in signing the papers, conversing by telephone every quarter of an hour, making arrangements for tennis, cricket, dramatic performance and dances, a nd rebuking the clerks.. . . . He feels it a difficulty to work in this hot country. He is like fish out of water .

The wrong notion that he may spend his days in this country singing and playing is implanted in him. . . . The usual cry of the European officials in Kenya is 'less work, more pay'. Such has been the case from the very beginning.

(c) JAILS

34. Anent the remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. A. R. Knapp regarding the release of the Mappillas from jail, on the ground of their subequent good behaviour, the PINAKINI PATRIKA, of the 25th November, observes:- Mr. Knapp said that the Mappillas could not be released, as such an action on the part of the Government would be construed by some as having been done by them through fear. Very good statesmanship indeed! If some unwise persons from among those who were already releeased and some others outside happen to misunderstand the Government's action, should the imprisoned Mappillas reap the result of it? We are now reminded of the proverb that a blow dealt on the back of a person resulted in breaking his teeth. Who are the persons that are really guilty, and who are those that have to suffer the punishment? Should the anger towards a mother-in-law be directed against an earthen vessel? Suppose that the persons already released never choose to overcome the idea that Government have really set them free only out of fear. Should those who are now in jail remain on that account without any chance of liberation for ever? There is still one other matter to consider. Let us grant that the already relaesed Mappillas once again rebel and commit the offence of treason. According to the Hon'ble Mr. Knapp's

MP The release of the Mappillas.

decision, these men should not be awarded any punishment at all, but those who are in jail at the present time will have to be hanged. This is indeed a 'just administration'!

NCS

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari: his speech to the students of the National College at Rajahmundry.

45. Under this heading, a correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 30th November, reports Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to have spoken thus in his address to the students of the National College at Rajahmundry:- The authorities are robbing the people of the wealth obtained by the sweat of their brow and are making with it the educational institutions, which they have established, captivating Your college is not maintained by robbers, but by the donations heartily given by the people . . . . . Do not think that you are in a bad institution, for you are in one whose principal is the Mahatma. . . . . When SWARAJ is established, your names alone will be included in the list of true citizens, and not those of the students educated in the other institutions.

(j) SALT AND ABKARI

Pro

Non-co-operation and the liquor traffic.

53. Commenting on the Annual Report on the Abkari administration for the year 1921-22, the KANTHIRAVA, of the 28th November, remarks:- No one can fail to see from a review of the report what close relation there is between non-co-operation and the tmperance movement. If the Government had any real sympathy towards the temperance movement, they could have manifested it by meting out punishment to those officials who punished the volunteers even when they were peaceful workers. No one would believe that all those who were convicted of picketing were guilty of resorting to violence.

Probably at heart Government feel distressed at the prospect of a decrease in their revenue in case they permit such things. But a Government which knows how to manipulate its budget under any circumstances ean surely find some means or other of making up its loss from the Abkari department. Where there is a will there is a way.

54. On the same subject, the NAVAGUGA, of the 30th November, observes:- Though the use of liquor by fewer people than before mens victory to the non-co-operators, it has made the Government poorer. It is well known how those who preached against the frink habit were subjected to all sorts of punishement. It is a shame that the report should say that the picketeers got thir victory by acts of intimidation, arson, etc. There was no need to record in a Government report that the whole country was in sympathy with such law-breakers.

Entry into Legislative Councils.

59. The SUTANDIRAN, of the 12th November, contains a strong appeal by a correspondent to the people to boycott the Legislative Councils, in the course of which he says:- Realizing the statemanship of Englsihmen whowere till now draining the resources of India, Indian patriots woke us up. The sun of non-co-operation dawned to dispel the darkness of barbarism. Mahatma only represents the lustre shed by this sun. If we now enter the councils in consonance with the attitude of the authorities who proclaim that the war of non-co-operation has lost its vigour since the punishment of the Mahatma, there can be no more foolish people in

the world than ourselves. Brethren! Do not go against the programme of the Mahatma. If you do, you will gain no more than a dog which bites bone already tasted by another dog. Demonstrate to the world your valour and determination.

60. The VARTA, of the 14th November (received on the 30th November), reports the JANMABHUMI to have written thus: None would consent to enter the Legislative Councils again like the dogs, which bend thier tails, and go submissively to the pegs to which they are tied. Why do tye dogs go the pegs? It is only to get the chains fastened round their necks. Those who tie up the digs comb them cress them, have them washed, keep them clean, feed them and also give them puddings now and then. All this is true. What will those dogs do? They simply bark. We will not enter the Legislative Councils for this. If the times are unfavourable for our movement now, we will only await the coming in of good days.

61. The MUSLIM, of the 23rd November, gives prominent publication to a resolution of the working committee of the Jamhiyatul Ulema, which enjouns on all Indian Muslims the duty of non-co-operating with the Government. The resolution points out that Muslims should never take the oath of allegiance prescribed for Council Members, but that the Ulema has no objection to Muslims seeking election to the councils with a view to 'smash them'.

62. The SUTANDIRAN, of the 26th November, contains the following observations among others:- A change inthe Govern-

ment should follow a change inus and not cice versa. Entering the Legislative Councils and breaking them down by means of resolutions will not change our mode of life. The Bardoli programme alone is the most sutitable thing for changing the mind and reforming the sense of the people. This programme is based upon the principle of SATYAGRAHA and it indicates the union of the world. This programme does not relate either to India alone or to civil disobedience or to India attaining SWARAJ. It is indispensable to man's life itself and will have to be adopted hereafter by the whole world. If attempts are made to carry out this programme, Government will develop of its own accord.

63. The following in the form of a dialougue, is gathered from an article, appearing in the GUNTUR PATRIKA, of the 28th November, on the subject of the COUNCIL ENTRY' :- . . . . The Legislative Councils are like latrines. There is no meaning in our saying, that we will not record our votes, while at the same time we refuse todisobey the laws made by them, quietly accept, and act in conformity with them. If we want to keep ourselves aloof from these Legislative Councils and boycott them, we must boycott the laws made by them as well. We must, of necessity, act contr ry tothose laws. If we want to act reasonably, all of those who are against the councio entry should also be those, who have necessarily to practise ci il disobedience. . . . ~~Eitexh~~ Either we have to get into the councils and see that no laws are passes, or we must disobey those laws(when made). There

is no other alternative. These are the only two methods availabe for boycotting the councils. . . . . He alone is a true non-co-operator. Such a person should not pay taxes. He should oppose both good and bad laws. If the council should say, 'Do not commit roberry or other crimes', he should commit them. Therefore, the argument that the councils are like latrines, and that they are useless for all time to come, and also that the laws made by them as not required for us, cannot but give room to such ridiculous conclusions. So far as this matter is concerned, the non-co-operator is, in a more ridiculous position than the person who says, that he will enter the council and create obstacles at every step. . . . . In every matter, these Legislative Counils alone come in the way. . . .

64. Reverting to this subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 29th November, observes:- The moderates are trying to prevent our entering the Legislative Councils by impressing upon us that such entry is opposed to the principle of non-co-operation. The authorities too desire the same; for, as a result of the boycott of the councils by the nationlist party, they have secured greater conveneicnce than before to exercise their autocractic powers. This at least should show that entry into the councils is necessary.

65. The SUKHODAYAM, of the 30th November, observes:- Mahatma Gandhi has shown the way to SWARAJ. The coursewe follow is a royal road, while entry into the council is a by-path which will detract our attention. Press forward with self-

confidence. By the stength of constructive work, we can resort to civil disobedience if necessary and win victory undoubtedly.

66. Referring to the question of entry into the councils, the NAVAYUGA, of the 30th November remarks:- Last year the Congress party was confident that it would be quite easy to win in a flight with the bureaucracy. But now, it is obvious to all that its enthusiasm and its popularity have both waned. All the items of constructive programme as resolved upon at Bardoli, excepting the KHADDAR propaganda have become defunct. With this latter alone God knows when the country can be ready for mass civil disobedience. Why should we not now at least profit by the experience of the past and adopt a fresh programme so as to work with redoubled efforts to win SWARAJ? The first thing that we should do in our struggle for SWARAJ is todeucate the minds of the voters, explain to them the policy of the Congress and through them secure the council seats for Congressmen alone. If the Congress view thus makes headway in the councils as well as among the voters, the Government will be forced to respect the opinion of the people or go counter to their wishes. In the latter case, they will have to resort to their own emergency powers. If this is done, the country will be driven to adopt the policy of non-co-opration, instead of remaining satisfied with mere words as now. Hitherto nothing has been achieved by standing out of the councils and adopting non-co-operation.

67. The SWATANTRA, of the 3rd December writes:- The histories of the countries in the west show, that it is the

nature of statesmen to hide the truth. They think that they can close the eyes of the world by withhodling themeans of communication, as in the Lausane Confernce. But how long can truth be hidden? The means adopted to impose upon the world will become destructive to themselves, but not to the world. This state of affairs in the western countries has made its appearance also in India. India too will have to face many difficulties, as the countries of the west have donee, uless this is given up soon. It is obvious how the majority of the people regard the Legislative Councils with contempt. The arguments advanced against the council entry at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, recently held at Calcutta, were withheld by the Congress authorities from the public. It is improper and shameful on the part of the authorities of the Indian National Congress to adopt the western methods.

KHILAFAT Committee's Report on Civil Disobedience.

69. Axx Commenting on the KHILAFAT Committee's Report on Civil Disobedience, the Muslim of the 16th November, says:- "Of course we admit that after the Bardoli resoutions, the strength of the non-co-operation movement was somewhat reduced," and points out that Mahatma Gandhi focussed his attention on the constructive programme with a view to prepare the mass mid for non-violent mass disobedience but before he could accomplish even that, Ethe cruel lion of the British administrative machienery grinned and roared and rushed at him and caught him up in the cruel claws of the prison house and so removed him away from amongst us". Following this, several other leaders also went to jail and the consturctive programme failed to be properly carried out in most

provinces. The political sky in India to-dayis not, therefore, favourable for the commencement of mass civil disobedience. "But it is abso utely necessary for us to win SWARAJ. If now we kept still and do nothing, the situation will become dangerous. The committee realized this. . . "

Referring to the boycott of courts the article says:- "now most people know that British Courts of justi e show partiality, and that after the farce of atrial they pass cruel sentence on true patriots who work for the slavation of India. To have passed, contrary to the verdict of jury and by the exercise of their own Ø(independent) power, a sentence of six years' imprisonment on Mahatma Gandhi-that saintly man well known to be great throughout the world-areindeed first rate examples of the faculty of judgment possessed by British Courts of justice. And besides, we doubt whether it will be possible to find anywhere else in the world courts of justice so affected by the cataract of race discriminiation. Therefore a man that co-o rates xkh with a British Court of justice that completely ignores nay more, works with the object of destroying the self-respect and patriotism of Indians, cannot remain a non-co-operator and such a one cannot have any position in the non-co-operation movement".

The paper eulogizes the authors of the report which has succeeded to show to the world what the true sons of Mother Bharatha are like and congratulates them on their achievement.

70. The NAZRANI DEEPIKA, of the 18th November, observes that the only difference between the Congress Committee's

and the KHILFAT Committee's reports on civil disobedience is that the latter does not make such an open confession of failure as the former does, that the attitude of the Khilafatists is more consistent than that of the Congress men, but they are both equal in treachery towards their country. With regard to the triple boycott advocated by the non-co-operators (of courts, schools and British goods) the paper exposes the mischief wrought by the propaganda and expresses relief at its complete and speedy failure.

The KHILAFAT and India.

71. The MALABAR ISLAM, of the 17th November, warns Muslims and thier sympathisers not to be disappointed and disheartened by such statemts as "Angora has deceived Indian Muslims", "it is the British people that protect the Khalif", "the KHILAFAT affair has ended in smoke" and so forth, blurted out by the Anglo-Indian newspapers and by native papers that hang on their tails.

72. The MUSLIM, of the 23rd November, reproduces from the KERALA CHANDRIKA the translation of a statement issued by Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari, warning Indian Muslims against interested misrepresentatios about the KHILAFAT situation.

MP The Malabar disturbance.

73. Adverting to the introduction of 'the Malabr (Completion of Trials) Bill' in the Madras Legislative Council, the YOGADSHEMAM, of the 18th November, points out that the complaint in Malabr is that the expeditious healing of the wounds caused by the Mappilla riot is being hampered

by the continuance of the Ordianance and special courts. Even if these are done away with by the special enactment now introduced, it is doubtful whether it will remove the objection. If charges and trails should continue for one or two years more, will it be easy to restore peace in the land? Will not the Government consider this aspect of the question?

74. Referring to the amounts of compensation paid to Government officials for loss sustained by them during the Malabar disturbace, the YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 29th November, remarks:- When one sees that after collecting even additional taxes from janmis and others who lost their all inthe riot, such rewards (or presents) are distributed and nothing at all is done in respect of the poor people, one cannot but be astonished.

NCS The political situation in India.

76. Reviewing the present sitiation in India with special reference to the new British Parliament, the KERALA KAHALAM, of the 22nd and 25th November points out that the constitution and outlook of the new House of Commons do no necesarily fore-shadow a gloomy prospect for India. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 22nd November, on the other hand considers that Indians cannot expect any good as a result of this election, as the Conservatives who are now in power are of opinion that even the cursed reforms that have been blindly accepted only by the Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Sastri and a few moderates are not necessary for India, and this paper urges Indians to

work strenouslyfor the attainment of their object, which alone, it says, will ensure liberty to India and SWARAJ to Indians. The KERALA KAHALAM thinks that though the non-co-operation movement has apparentlyfailed completely and its leader is in jail, he has succeeded in sowing certain principle most of which will be accepted even by those who are not in his camp. On the other hand the British Government have showered various promises on India. "The non-co-operators do not believe in them while we, moderates, rely on them implicitly. If our hopes are frustrated, the British Government will be committting a great blunder. The seeds sown are now under the earth. The Conservative Government in Britain should act with great foresight if in India there should not be something like a volcanic eruption when the originator of theose principles is realeased from jail a few years hence".

EX Reduction of expenditure in India.

77. The YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 22nd November, points out that while the post-war increase in the salary of the Civilians in India is said to be by no means less than tha of the increase inthe pay of the Cibilians in England the former work, on an average, only 30 hours while the latter work 43½ hours a week, and observes that the number of officers in India can be reduced if the working hours are increased to the limit of working hours in Britain.

The Akali success.

81. Under this heading, the SWATANTRA, of the 26th November writes:- . . . The administration of the Gurudwara

lands is in the hands of the Prabandhak Committee. That being so, neither the Government nor the mahant nor anyone else has any right to lease them toothers. To so lease them would be to exhibit bureaucratic violence. Why should not the Government fearlessly say that they have sustained a defeat in this affair! Why these subterfuges and machinations? As the correspondent to the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN has siad, the success of the Akalis is but the triumph of the non-co-operation flag. This shouldset us a thinking. The Akalis had followed the path of non-violence, crushed arbitrary power and shoed the strength of the non-co-operation movement to the country. If we recognize our DHARMA, and carryon the constructive programme with full confidence and courage, and shaking off the fear in us, our success is assured.

82. The HITAKARINI, of the 27th November writes thus:- . . . . It is quire true that the strong resoluteness of purpose and the spiritual force of the Akalis have taught a lesson to the authorities. We say, that the tricks which the authoritis had adopted, unable to bear the strong determination of the Akalis, only show, more than their defeat, their extreme skillin (the doing of) mean acts. . . . .

The Akali repression.

83. Under this heading, the SWATANTRA, of the 3rd Decemberremarks: It seems that the authorities are arresting the Akalis, putting them in jail and are beating them with whips till they become unconscious. It appears that they wreak their vengeance by shrouding with a foreign cloth the corpse of an Akali convict who died from the effects of whipping Where is the end to the atrocities prepetrated bythe authoritis?

86. ~~The~~ Reffering to permisson not having been accorded

Lala Lajapt Rai

to Lala Lajpat Rai to take a walk to improve his health, the TAMIL NADU, of the 26th November, asks whethr all this is the sport of the authorities or the help which theyare rendering to the people on the impression that the movement of the lattermayslacken and wans the Government that they themselves will be responsible for the disappearance of even the little regard which the people have for them, if they should fail to discharge their duty and the health of this leader becomes a matter for anxiety.

88. The SWATANTRA, of the 26th November, has the following:-

The national war: the first scene.

We have enthusiastically tried to retain our ability and self-respect by opposing the Government. We were pleased to see Mr. Gandhi and his twenty-five thousand flollowers go to jail . . . . We have attained success by first fighting from our own place. Some say therefore that we have now to enter the enemy's camp and defeat them. Can there be any person so foolish as to think that we will attain success the moment we stept into the camp of the enemy? How can we undestand the nature of the death-dealing machinery of the enemy as soon as we enter his house? We can imagine from it what machinationshe will induoge in, and what by-paths he may lead us to? So, this is not a proper reason. . Will the BritishGovernment come to a standstill if the Legislative Councils which are like puppets are not in existence? One may ask whywe should not proclaim such acts of the

British people to the whole world and enlist its sympathy in our favur? Of what use is it even if we get it? Each man has his own difficulties. Such being the case, it is ridiculous to suppose that they will forget their own affairs and help us.

89. Referring to the action of the Inns of Court in England in regard to the striking of the name of Mr. Gandhi off their rolls, the HITAKARINI, of the 27th November, observs:-

Are they unwise men?

. . . . . When, in a cetain case, the Presidency Magistrate of Bombay had questioned Mr. Gandhi whether he was a barrister, he replied that he was not and that he had left that profession long ago. The authorities of the Inns of Court are not such fools as not tobe able to understand even this. Nor are they such beasts as not to know, at least to some extent, the secret of the life of Mr. Gandhi, if nottewhole of it. What then is the meaning of this action? Those who deserve to remain in the Inns are men of a different stamp altogether. We are of opinion that the name of Gandhi should not be associated with them. Gandhi is aon adeptinthe spiritual lore; but they are purely worldy men. Gandhi is a follower of ADWAITISM; while they are experts in deceptive reasoning. Gandhi is an all-loving soul; but they are extremely selfish people. Gandhi is a sage who performs his penance in uninhabited regions with a small piece of cloth to ver his body; while they are a proud set of people who, with their coats on, hurriedly run about the High Court buildings like so many vultures. Oh! What a difference there is between him and those people! Where is the [illegible] and where is the Nagaloka (Heaven)? Are the Authorities of the Inns of Court, therefore, unwise men who struck his name off their rolls, thinking that there could be no agreement between him and them, and that therefore he was not the right man for his profession? There is no possibility for a swan to enter (a flock of) crows. [illegible] congratulate the authorities of the Inns of Court

[illegible] on their action. If Gandhi hears this news, will he not feel gratified at it, saying "Be gone with it."

~~90xxQuotingxaxxcommaxi~~

The Inchcape Committee.

91. Reiterating its view that this country is getting impoverished as a result of the heavy expenditure incurred by the Government on account of the appointment of Europeans in the superior sevice onhigh slaries, the DRAVIDAN, of the 29th November, recers to the letter sent to this committee recently by the European Assocaition of Calcutta and observes: It is clear that this association is for increasing taxation further, which we would put down as a mischievous recommendation. They opine that, by rducing theincreased items of expenditure, the interests of the Europeans in India will be affected prejudicially and that their life will also be endangered. It is certain that, if the Inchcape Committee recommends that Indias should be ~~freedlyx~~ freely appointed in the Civil and Military departments, it will lighten the purse of the European officials. But it is foolish for this association to fear that the life of Europeans will be thereby endangered. The Indians support the view even more strogly than the Europeans that permanent peace should be established in the land and that the Government should be strengthened.

92. Expressing its gratitude to Lord Inchcape for his observation in the course of a speech at Calcutta that India would be relieved of her debt and be able to save some money before long, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st December, observes:- But certain remarks in his speech do not gie us much hope. Firstly soon after he expressed that the communication of theEuropean Association would be carefully considered, their suggestion was carried out in respect of

the reduction of the rates of passge. He has stated that an increase of import duties is not the right method of protecting the indigenous industries. If we abide by his advice, perhaps it may take some centrueis for the progress of indigenous industries. And again, why should Lord Inchcape thereaten that the Government will surely maintain law and order? A doubt arises also from his anxiety that the administrative efficiency should not go down.

NCS The Gandhi era.

93. Under this heading, an article appears in the GUNTUR PATRIKA, of the 28th November, from the pen of a correspondent. The following remarks occur in the course of it:- . . . . . Many people confess that, by practising the vow of Gandhi, any amout of brute-force may be rendered useless. His teachings are, like the allhealing drug, so useful in extricating the people from the hands of those cruel men, whose wish is to trample under foot the weak nations by the strength of the deadly weapons in their pqwn, and to keep them in slavery for ever, and also in converting those very cruel persons into peaceful men by driving away the selfishness and the arrogance in them, and making thewhites, the blacks and the Negroes live together in peace and brotherly love like the living together in peace and harmony of the animals of a naturally inimical character, namely, the lion and the elephat, the tiger and the goat, the dog, the cat and the rat, the others, in the hermitage of the sage of Kanva of olden days. Like theKAMANDALAM (theholy vessel) of Vasishta, which rendered futile the death-dealing weapons

of the arrogant Viswamitra, the non-violent vow of Mr. Gandhi can make quite powerless the fatal machinery, the bombs and the aeroplanes. The principles, which he has taught, are like the showers of rain for the sun-burnt and almost lifeless crops, in so far as they help to destroy, without leaving the least trace, the effect of the difficulties caused to the weak by the strong. . . . His aim is to destroy the vices in man and turn him to the path of the virtuous. If vices go, where can we find vicious persons at all? . . . . As these principles permeate, where is the scope for vices? What need is there for guns? Why should there be any jails? How can the deceitful courts have any work? Why this present arbitrary system of administration? There will be no necessity for all these. There will be no necessity to impose taxes on the poor ryots, who have no food to eat, and to maintain the (officers of the) military establishment on high salaries. . . . . Mr. Gandhi tried to adopt them in practical life, and thus convert this earth into Heaven. The British Government had given a perverse interpretation to his good teachings, and began to hate him and agonise his followers, irrespective of the fact that there were among them males, females, and youngsters. But, as time goes on, they will themselves repent, and cannot but recognize their own mistakes.

Con

The Calcutta Conference.

96. Commenting on the proceedings of themeeting of the Congress Committee at Calcutta, under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 29th November, writes:- . . . . Self-sacrifice is the life of the non-co-opeation movement. The movement will look queer to those who do not believe

in it. The loss of appontments, the loss of authority, the boycott of the Legislative Councils, the repression and the punishments, without appearing to be signs of victory, apper to them to be indications of defeat. As Mr. Nehru thinks, the boycott of the Legislative Councils appears to be the boycott of one's own self; punishments to be the signs of the victory of the authorities; renunciation to be a folly; and control to be cowardice. Such people cannot see victory in the realization and the triumph of righteousness as in some tangible result. Both the parties (those who are for and against the council-entry) admit that the non-co-operation movement has attained a great victory. The conditions now obtaining in the country make the success of the movement clear. Surprise and fear have taken possession of the official mind. The car of SWARAJ is running very fast.

RA The section 144.

99. The CONGRESS, of the 30th November, writes:- The moment the news that the Governor of Madras would visit Berhampur was made known, the Congress Committee resolved to greet him by means of a hartal. Under the delusion that they are the representatives of the people and, as such, ther words would be obeyed by it, the municipal councillors began to ask the citizens to stop theHARTAL, and so preached to them loyalty to the King, or (to be more precise) loyalty to Lord Willingdon. By that time, half the agitation in favour of the observance of the HARTAL had been in progress. Perhaps, out of fear that the people might have been intoxicated, the Collector had recourse to the tiny section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The authorities thought that the

people might get fightened at it. The new , which has beenrecieved, tells us that as soon as His Excellency arrived, the whole town was deserted by the people and that it gave a reception to him, with streets which looked gloomy. What else remains to be done by the people, who possess self-respect and who have vowed themselves to attain independence? We congratualte the citizens of Berhampur on the recognition of theri futy without the least encouragement from other quarters.

Col The Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

101. The DRAVIDAN, of the 30th Novembr, observes:- Though money of the Indians was spent by thousands for the tour of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, he has failed to secure equality for the Indians in the Colonies. What has he done except speaking upon the glory of the British Empire, the greatness of the Government of India and his good luck in visiting those countries as their representative? He has stated that, before a law is enacted granting equality to the Indians in the colonies, the attitude of the colonials should change. But how long would this take? Probably a centry more! And till then Mr. Sastri or ambassadors like him should perhaps be touring round the world consuming India's money!

102. Speaking appreciateively of the Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the NAVAYUGA, of the 30th November, observes:- It is hard to say at this moment how far he has succeeded in his mission and it would be wrong to criticize him. If he has been able to change, in ever so small a measure, the opinion of other nations about Indians, he has certainly done a great deal.

103. On the same sunject, the S ADESHABHIMANI, of the 1st December, writes:- If, as Mr. Sastri says, he already knew that he could not except any great success from his visit to the colonies, we wonder why he wasted so vast a sum as sixty thousand of poor India's money as also his great intelligence and oratorical powers in that widerness of the colonies.

The boycott.

106- Commenting upon the lection resuls, the SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 1st December, remarks:- If the proposal for the boycott of all British goods be carried into effect, the labour classes in England being thrown out of employment will have to face greater hardship. Already the number of the unemployed in England is greater than in other countries. Such being the case, if Indians boycott British goods the labour classes there will be reduced to starvation and hunger must necessarily bring them to their senses and in time draw their attention to the question of SWARAJ. All British goods should, therefore, be boycotted.

The political parties in India.

109. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 1st December, in an English article under this heading, writes:- ". . . . The prophet of non-co-operation and his disciples fund a resting place in jails. Another prophet is now in evidence. He advocates non-violent non-co-operation not only from without but also from within. His hom ly is rush into councils, wreck the Reforms and obstruct business. The latest party which has very recently come into existence is one of co-

opration. The prophet of this party says 'we cannot blame the Anglo-Indian autocrats. We have been lick-spittles; they became outocrats. We sacrificied our self-respect; they began to trample our rights under foot. If we behave nobly, they will treat us nobly. If we behave ignobly, they will treat us ignobly. Of all thenations on the surface of the globe, the British are comparatively the msot constitutional people. There are some fools who think that the policy of a kiss for a kick would make them our friends. They think that the philosophy of Jesus Christ, the philosophy of returning good for evil, is their practical philosophy. Tyose who hold this view are very bad judges of British human nature. A kick for a kick anda kiss for a kiss are the rules of conduct that obtain among Englsihmen. If they kiss us, let us return the kiss with gratitude. Let us not fly from them. Letus not non-co-operate wit them. Let us be as pugilistic as the most pugulistic of Britishers' . . . . . . It is doubtless a bod, just independent and constitutional policy. It is a source of gratification to us that , for many years past, we have been advocating this policy from a thousand watch-towers. We are glad that a prophet of this policy has by the dispensation of the divine Providence come into existence". . . . . .

SER 111. Referring to the reply of Lord Peel to the question of Lord Sydenham regarding the O'Donnel Circular that it was a mistake on the part of the Government of India to have issued the circular, the DRAVIDAN, of the 2nd December, observes:- Is it just on the part of the white men of foreign countries to monopolse all high offices in India without

Indianization of Services.

admitting the Indians freely thereto? By the appointment of foreigners, the Government have to oay them high salries and this tells upon the economic progress of India to a great extent. Lord Peel says that the constitution granted under the Indian Reforms Act of 1919 is a difficult one and that the British officials are indispensable for working it. Perhaps, he intends to do harm to the aspirations of the Indians by expressing useless opinions of this kind! Lord Peel strongly supports the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry. If any such Commission is appointed, it is only the narrow-minded English politicaians that will be members thereof. Therefore, we urge that the Legislative Assembly should immediately bring forward a resolution to prevent Lord Peel from workingout his plan.

Parties. The hopes of the moderates have been furstrated.

115. The AZAD HIND, of the 2nd December criticizing the remarks of Lord Peel on the O'Donnell Circular observes:- That perhaps the Secretary of Stte is unaware that in spite of the opposition of a strong and repressive Government how fairly and regularly Indian politicians have been and are conducting the work of the Congress, the KHILAFAT and the Muslim League. It remains to be seen what effect the remarks of the Secretary of State are going to produce on Lord Reading who has come to India as leder of a repressive policy. The Secretary of State's displeasure effects Lord Reading but His Excellency is not inclined to break silence and take action.

III-LEGISLATION

Press. The Princes Press Protection Bill.

118. Referring to the question asked in the Parliament by Colonel Wedgwood about this Bill the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 30th November, remarks:- It is a known fact that all parties in India object to this Bill and we have already furnished evidence to show that some of the princes too do not like such protction, though Lord Reading has, in his despatch, stated that the princes want this measure. But, as this Bill was urgently passed only at the instigation of the Secretary of State for India and, as he continues even in the present Cabinet and belongs wholly to the Conservative Party, who are now in the majority in the House, we need not say what the result will be.

IV-NATIVE STATES

PRO The drink evil.

119. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 28th December, observes:- The Travancore Government in their eagerness not to lose their abkari revenue are punishing the patriots who dissuade the people from the drink habit. We think that if the people organize themselves into communities so as to punish by means of social ostracism all those who are addicted to drink, the opposition from Government is bound to be absolutely ineffective.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 16TH DECEMBER, 1922.

NO. 50 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) GENERAL.

1. Writing under this heading, the WEST COAST REFORMER, of the 6th December, remarks:-

Eng & Ind

The Consevatives and India.

"The REUTER'S message of Fiday last under the above captainis a welcome revelation of the true state of British feeling. Two important facts appear from th message. The British public are well aware of the mouldering existence of the non-co-operation movement and they are rightly indignat at the demonstrtions got up in opposition to the Prince's visit. It is a sad irony that pesons who profess to be working for the good of the country should produce directly contrary results. It becomes criminal that the action shouldbe perisisted in even after due warning of its dangerous and reprehensible consequences that are bound to follow as a matter of course. The non-co-operators have been guilty of this culpable neglect to heed the warnings of wisdom and their supercilious contemptfor law and authority has only served to give additional point to their guilt. . . . The assurance contained in the election amnifesto of Mr. Bonar Law has now been confirmed, if confirmation were necessary, by the message furnished by REUTER. . . . . This is certainly a hopeful message given at the most proper hour. The Reforms Government is in the near future to submit itself to the

judgement of the electorate. The success or faailure of the Reforms must in a large measure depend upon the choice which the people make of the representatives who are to wrk the scheme. The willingness of the British Parliament to allow the people of India unfettered opportunities of reaping the fullest benefits of the Reforms cannot but act as an incentive to the best indigenous talents to exert themselves in the best interests of the country. It must equally serve as a timely warning to the schemeing body of wreckers who are slowly lifting up their nefarious enterprise. It must, by now, have been abundantly clear to all that the present Government in Great Britian stands pledged to help Inidia on to her goal only through the programme chalked out by the British Parliament when it gave its assent to the new Government of India Act. To expect anything else would be as foolish as it is fruitless. It would only be turning back the hands of the clock of progress if Indians were to throw obstacles in the way of the satisfactory working out of the Reforms. The inevitable result of obstructive tactics is the delaying of our approach to the desired end. The sooner this is appreciated by the country at large the better it must be to the common weal. No party of politicians in this country can with any semblance of fairness attack the good will of the present Government after such declarations of intention. The matter now tests entirely with our own people. The Gospel of hate can no more avail".

Commul. The Akali agitation.

2. JUSTICE, of the 9th December, states:- "It is well known that the Akali agitation in the Punjab would not have

grown to such menacing proportions that it latterly did but for the sheer perverseness and obduracy of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee. It is this committee which has been more than seventy-five per cent responsible for all the troubles and hardships which the Akalis had to suffer recently. If it had not wantonly incited them into revolt and hostility against the Government, much of the bad blood which has undoubtedly been caused could have been avoided. And not only that, it could also have achieved its avowed object, namely, the reform of the Gurudwaras with greater ease and expedition. The Government, from the very beginning, were sympathetically disposed towards the aims and ideals of the Akalis, and they would certainly have rendered every help if they had but been approached in a constitutional manner. But the Shiromani Committee was in a truculent mood and wanted to take the law into its own hands. This was a procedure which no Government with a sense of responsibility for the maintenance of public pace could countenance. . . The Shiromani Committee is not, however, satisfied, but apparently is thristing for another fiht with the Government. The motive of the committtee is clear; it wants to be in the lime-light once again and also the Akalis to be looked upon as so many heroes and martyrs by a credulous world. We are sure, however, that these objects will not be gained any more, for it is known by now to all that the chief obstacle at present in the way of the Akalis securing their end is not the Government but the Shiromani Committee itself So far as the Government are concerned, they have alredy passed the needed legislation to enable such of the Sikhs

as are really anxious to reform their Gurudwaras to attain theeir object without any difficulty whatever."

SER

The Services and the Press.

4. Writing under this heading, the Hindu , of the 15th December, remarks:- "Judging by Earl Winterton's reply in the Commons to Sir Charles Yate, it would seem that the recent epidemic of State-aided legal actions against the Indian Press by officials on the allegation that they were vilified is bout the beginning of a worse policy. Earl Winterton stated that, as a result of these actions, there was appreciable improvement in the conditions and that 'he was sure that the Government of India would willingly consider any more, effective method Colonel Yate could suggest'. We do not know if it means a hint to the Government of India to will little doubt as to the disastrous nature of the procedure adopted. . . . . If the Government continue to pander to this unjured vanity, as Earl Winterton disastrous not only from the point of view of the efficeincy of the services but also from that of the reaction of the country to such wanton acts of persecution ~~timexthexcountryxrea-~~ and threats of unwarranted legal actions. Whatever the Government may do, it is time the country realized what these attempts at throttling the press and virtually preventing the exercise of its legitimate functions mean".

NCS

Mr. Rajagoplachar&'s proposal.

5. SWARAJYA, of the 15th December, has the following:- "The 'Leader' of Allhabad has fallen foul of Mr. Rajagopalachari for making the suggestion that debts incurred by the

authority of sham legislatures, which the country through the Congress has disowned, would be repudiated by self-governing India. It characterizes his suggestion as outrageous and immoral and throws up the hands in gesture of surprise at such a good man descending to make so bad a proposal. Mr. Raja gopalachari has only proposed what indeed is obvious to every one that the actions of the present legislature have not the moral support of the country. His proposal does not amount to a repudiation of the public debt. It accepts for good or for evil the amount of money which the benevolent British Government has debited to us for the honour of conquering Burma, attacking Afghanist n and bullying Tibet. But that was money spent when the British Government was entitled to do so. But now the conditions have altered. When we have boycotted the councils and called upon the country not to exercise tis power of vote it meant that we repudiated its authroity to commit us either politically or financially. . . . . On no logical principle can India accept the liabilities incurred by a council which has been disowned by the country and repudiated by the proposal by the Congress would knowck the bottom out of the co-operator's creed. The value of their support to the Government would cease immediately. If they cannot help the Government out of its bankruptcy, the Government has no more use of them than of the non-co-operators. The 'Leader' feels this. Hence the uncontrollable rage into which it has flown. But anger would not help here. It is as plain as daylight that India cannot be held responsible for the action of a few moderates who represent nobody but themselves"

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) POLICE

21. The VARTA, of the 28th November, reports that the police constables of Rajahmundry had arrested a FAKIR mistaking him for Alluri Sitarama Raju, the leader of the Rampa pithuri, but they realized their mistake and let him off.

Sitaram — The arrest of a fakir for a rioter.

(h)RAILWAYS

36. The MANORAMA, of the 1st December, endorses the views expressed by Mr. C. F. Andrews at the All-India Railway Conference held at Bombay, especially that racial distinctions, such as are shown in the matter of pay, etc., given to Indians and Anglo-Indians in the Railway service, constitute the principal impediment to the establishment of mutual understanding and mutual confidence and points out that, for the progress of India, the existing obstacles should be removed and Indians should be granted equality in all matters.

EI — Railway and racial distinction

40. The MATRUSEVA, of the 1st Decemb , has the following exhortation addressed to Pandit Motilal Nehru:- O Motilal

NCS — The Legislative Cøouncils

Nehru! Why are you in such a delusion about the entry into the Legislative Councils? Why do you bear such a grudge against your moderate brethren for not resigning their seats in the Legislative Councils? . . . . (Mental) weakness has long ago left the land of India. The people will not get exasperated at such causes of irritation and yield to destructive and ruinous forces, which are, after all, the result of shortsightedness and dissensions among the members of the community. They will never think at any time that the Mahatma is a mad man like you to feel sorry for such a thing. Are you justified in making light of our brethren in this manner-- those who have avowed themselves to reduce ~~teheri~~ their enemies to submission by the force of their self-sacrifice and the troubles they undergo and who have been serving the cause of the mother country as mch as they can? No one who has understood the ethics of Mr. Gandhi's teaching will agree with you. Nor will he be willing to 'touch' yourLegislatve Councils.

41. The VARTA, of the 20th November (recieved on the 30th November), writes:- . . The non-co-operators should get themselves elected to the Legislative Councils and should boycott them from within. Government ought to be weakened by the creation of dead-locks, when it wil become paralysed, or its arbitrariness will be laid bare. If the Government is paralysed, they will try to satisfy our desires, or rule us arbitrarily. All parties will become united and attempt to end the arbitrary rule. If the Reform theselves are cancelled, it will be needless to sate that the boycott has been successful and that the Government have been defeated. It is all the same whether these Reforms remain or go. Then the expendi-

ture due to the Reforms will also become reduced. We shall again try to establish such reforms as will meet the approval of the people. As the country is not prepared for launching out mass civil disobedience, this is the best way to soon attain our end.

42. Referring to the Calcutta meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, the KISTNA PATRIKA, of the 2nd December, writes:- . . . . . At the present time, much difference of opinion exitsts even among the non-co-operators theslves. The subject of the entry into the Legislative Councils is not a small matter, for the non-co-operation movement itself began with that problem. In fact, it is the important factor in it. If we leave aside the question, it is a mere mental dream now centred round the very primary principle of the non-co-operation movement. To consider whether or not to enter the Legislative Councils is but to go into the question whether or not to continue the movement itself. It was to determine this important question that the All-India Committee had met at Calcutta.

43. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 8th December, reproduces the following from an article ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ contributed to the YOUNG INDIA:- A certain person put the whole problem of the council-entry in a nut-shell as follows:- "I have no belief in the conquest of the enemy by love. Enter the Legislative Councils with the intention of destroying them. Boycott the British goods and cause the English as much loss as possible. Enter all the local councils, and thus give trouble to every British District officer. Establish labour

unions, cause strikes in the trading communities and make life unearable to the English in India. This is my opinion on the resolutions of the Congress Working Committee pelaced before you. I think that it is in accordance with the principle of non-co-operation. Adopt such a programme and you will certainly have SWARAJ". As our countrymen deliberately co-operate, Government have held us in bondage.

MB Release of Mappilla Prisoners.

52. Referring to the recent release of batchesof Mappilla prisoners, the KERALA SANCHARI, of the 22nd November fails to understand the principles on which these prisoners are released, points out that there are some Mappillas who may think that the relese of the prisoners was due to the success of the Angora Government; and that the Collector of Malabar appears to be against such a step. It does not think that the releae of Mappilla prisoners will be beneficial to the country.

CON The Congress Enquiry Committee of Malabar disturbances.

54. The SWARAT, of the 28th November, remarks that from the time the committee was announced and the questionaire was issued, some people in Malabar could get no sleep. The paper is not at all surprised that the Hindu janmi manifesto and the moderate Muhammadan manifesto both agree in form and matter. It thinks that Mr. Tyabiji's eply has completely disproved the contentions of the authors of the manifstos and observes: " We know very well the reason for such panic amongst these people. . . . . If any one interprets these frantic gestures as the cramps of a guilty conscience, it will certainly not be an unnnatural interpre-

tation. . . . . . . Effective remedy for the future cannot be devised unless the eal causes of the disease be discovered. . . . . . Whoever may in whatever ways try to prevent it, the light of truth must out, andour consolation is that the fruits of evil counsels will then disappear like darkness before dawn".

Commul. The Akali struggle.

57. In an article on this subject under the subscription 'V.R.', the SUTANDIRAN, of the 26th November, remarks that the reason why the demand of the Sihs to retain their temples in their possession should appear seditious to the authrorities is not know and that the geneal rule that any kind of agitation is an offence in the days of Gandhi seems to apply in this case also, though the authorities do not openly say so, and observes:- It is utterly false that Mahat Sundara Das sought the help of the Government. It is seen from the meorandum of the Gurudhwara Committee that he was prepared tocome to an agreement with the Akalis and that anagreement was in fact drawn up. But, allon a sudden, the Mahant had the co-operation of the authorities and came to the conclusion that he was the proprietor of the property. It is not of course impossible to find out the reason for the Mahant having thus changed his mind. The Governmentof India do not directly attack any movement which has liberation for its object and destroy it. They are adepts in deceptive war. Look how wonderfully they have interfered in this affair. It cannot amount to a fult on the part of the authorities to point out to the Mahant in whose name the property stands! And when the Mahant has once discovered

his right, is it not the duty of the Government to safeguard it? There were the Police and the Military ready and the Mahant had the necessary protction. Both himself and the authorities were elated with joy; but the end turned out to be contrary to their expectations. The number of arrests exceeded 5,000. Can deception stand longer? Then comes out a communique stating that, as Gangaram has taken a lease of the Mahat's lands and allowed the Akalis to freely cut fuel, police protection is nolonger necessary for the Mahant and that the Government have neither the desire nor the necessity to arrest the Akalis hereafter. But the Mahant alleges that he has not led the garden on lease and that Tahsildar mearly took his signature on a sheet of paper, while Gangaram states that he has taken the lease without any inducement (that is, without any inucement onthe part of the Government) and in the interests of the country. All this trouble is the outcome of the Government having resorted to unrigteous action. How much confidence and loyalty would it have created in the people if the Government had admitted their error?

58. The SWARAT, of the 28th November, learns that an Akali prisoner in the Attock jail has died by poele bationing and says: "It is no use asking the Punjab Government, which now and again issues communiques that no physical injury is ever caused to prisoners, how this death occurred. We ~~may console injury is ever caused to prisoners, how this death occurred.~~ We may console ourselves with the thought that this SATYAGRAHI who suffered and died for DHARMA has now reached the havin of heores". In the news item

referring to the same matter, it is stated that the body was taken to the cremation ground under po ice escort and that the KHADDAR worn by the dead man was removed and the corpse was wound in foreign cloth.

59. A correspondent to the MATRUSEVA, of the 1st December contributes a few verses to it. The following are from them During the year DUNBDUBHI, the triumphant kettle-drum sounds are made as a result of the SATYAGRAHA (movement), and have subdued all troubles. Is there still any doubt about the establishment of SWARAJ?- . . . . How far has the valorous Government (of the smpire), whereon the sun never sts, been able to reduce the Akali heroes to subjection? O, Sons of Ind! O possessors of the wealth of virtue! If, out of devotion to God, truth and a peaceful attitude, one does not disobey the orders of the good preceptor, Gandhi, can even the three worlds, not to speak of this bureaucracy, dare oppose us?

Gufudhwara Bill.

60. The KERALA SANCHARI, of the 6th December, approves of the Gurudhwara Bill passed by the Punjab Government and hopes that the valiant Sikhs will accept the Bill and not fall into the net of the non-co-operators.

EX Expenditure in England and in India.

68. The TAMIL NADU, of the 10th December, publishes statistics for the expenditure incurred on account of salaries paid to officials in England and in India and each province therein and remarks:- The Viceroy, the Governors,

Members of the Executive Concils, Ministes and their Secretaries are given travelling allowances also on a large scale. As regards the Viceroy and Governors, their expenditure for the dinners given by them, marriage and other items is met from the money of the Indians as long as they continue in office in India.

70 Anent the removal of the name of Mr. Gandhi from the rolls of the Inns of Court in England, the PINAKINI PATHIKA of the 2nd December, writes:- . . . . The authorities have acted in consonance with their prestige. But the title of 'Barrister' was as useful to Mr, Gandhi as the title of 'M.A! would be to His Majesty King George. That much of value as would be attached to a resolution PASSED BY US TO the effect that Gautama Buddha was not eligible to wear the sacred thread, only that much will be attacheed to this action of the Inns of Court. A mahatma such as he, who has been able to please the whole world with the justness of his arguments, does not stand in need of the title of 'Barrister'. The authoritieshave enforced this order as the mighty weapon of God Indra. In olden days, God Indra directed his powerful missile against Garutama who was carrying (nectar). As that missile had not produced any effect on him, he (Garutmanta) truned back and threw in return at Indra a feather, as if to protest the prestige of he might weapon of Indra. What would the Mahatma have done if he were free now? Perhaps, he would have given a treat to his frineds!

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74. The MATRUSEVA, of the 1st December, writes:- . . .

NCS Gokhale and non-co-operation.

During Gokhale's days there was no prospect of the advent of non-co-operation into India, -- at least that type of non-violent non-co-operation, which does not yield even to the violent striking of the lathi-blows, which does not submit even when the fore-arms and the knee-pans of the people are broken and which, without paying any heed at all even when their very lives are taken aways, continues to stand all-absorbed in prayer to God Iswara.

75. Referring to the reply recently given by Earl Winter-

SER REliEf to I.C.S. officers.

ton in the new Parliament that Lord Peel is sympathetically considering the question of granting enhances salaries to the Indian Civil Service, the MANORAMA, of the 1st December, points out that the members of the Indian Civil Service cannot but be grateful to Earl Winterton if during his short stay in the country he has found out that they cannot support themselves and their families with the pay which they recieve at present, but that all Indians know the truth and are aware who it is that are subjected to hardships as a result of small salaries, insufficient even for their livelihood, and says:- It is certain that, during his tour, the Under Secretary of State for India made no enquiry at all about these people and there is nobody to ~~Service will be~~ represent their case in the Parliament. To enhance the pay of the Inian Civil Service will be to ignore the financial condition of India and will be an act of effrontery in opposition to public opinion in India.

83. From the discussions at the recent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held in Calcutta, the SAMADARSI, of the 2nd December, finds that non-co-operators are split into four classes, who for conveneince of dwscription, are called the Mahratta, Bengal, Guzerat and Andhra parties.

The present situation.

Of these the Mahratta party is really soyside the pale of non-co-operation and the Bengal party represented by Das, Nehru, Ajmal Khan and others plead for a new consturctive programme, viz. council entry, while the Guzerat party represented by Ansari, Kasturi Ranga Ayyangar and Rajagopalachari lay their whole turst in the existing consturctive programme. The Andhra partybelieve not merely in the constructive programme, but incollective civil disobedience as well, of greater or smaller numbers of people. The paper endorses the opinion of the Andhra party, and observes that the people of Bharata should, by the adoption of the constuctive programme and collective civil disobedience, work out SWARAJ and thinks that if the Gaya Congress should adopt such a resolution and the people should follow that resolution, they would attain SWARAJ erelong.

85. The MANORAMA, of the 5th December, regrets that the Congress which had attained a good status and position as a result of the efforts of several great men should have deteriorated since the question of council entry came to the fron and attributes this to the obstinacy of some of the Congress men who persost in their course in spite of their realization that civil disobedience and boycott are impracticable and that the people are not ready for the same. The paper points out that there are dissensions even amongst

those who advocate council entry, and observes that it augurs well for the country that advocates of discriminative co-operation, Viz., the Home Rule Leagur, the Liberals and the Independents, have now the support of the people. The paper notes in passing that Malabar is one of the most important districts where the non-co-operation movement failed completely.

86. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 7th December, remarks:- The next session of the Congress is one of extraordinary interest inasmuch as it has to choose between the different lines of action advocated by Gandhi and C. R. Das. At present every Indian is a non-co-operator. The well-to-do profess to be moderates only because they are afraid of losing their power and prestige, but the better-infomred among the moderates are even more radical in their views than the extremists; that is to say, in a fight for justice, they feel that they should be prepared even to sacrifice their lives. By a concourse of circumstances it appears as if India which has, for a long time past, been the abode of peace will prove a second KURUKSHETRA. The fight between the KAURAVAS and the PANDAVAS must seem insignificant when compared with the impending fight between justice and injustice. This fight may not affect India lone, but might lead to the total dissolution of the entire universe. The British people are the most powerful of all the nations of the world. If the campaign of non-co-operation is launched againt them it is hard to say what the result will ne. The consequences will have to be suffered not only by Indians but also by England and the rest of the world. Finally the League of

Nations will have to interfere. All rulers will have to be deprived of their military powers. Those who go against justice, wheterh they be rulers or subjects, will have to tried before the tribunal of the League of Nations. If they are found guilty there, even emperors will have to share the fate of being sent to the gallows. The future is pregnant with all these disasters. We trust that the Congress will adopt a policy which will cause all those in authority to peonder over the situation, restore justice and lay the foundations of constitutional government, so that all may enjoy peace and tranquillity.

87. The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 8th December, remarks:- The differences of opinion among the non-co-operators will only strengthen the efforts to obain SWARAJ. Some people seem to fear that the advent of the Conservatives into power might prove adverse to the cause. But we must say that like the process of refining gold the more we suffer and the more illiberal and rigourous the pelicy of the Government, the greater the occasion for the people to display their true of the Government, the greater the occasion for the people to display their true qualities and come out glorious. We have, therefore, nothing to fear from illiberal statesmanship. It is reported that the HARTAL and other activities on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales have alienated the sympathies of may fiar-minded Englishmen. It seems as though it does not matter if India has had to suffer themonstruous atrocities in the Punjab, the violation of KHILAFAT pledges and the withholding of

SWARAJ. The emperor and the prince may dissociate themselves from all knowledge of these happenings. But it is reprehensible if the people stand aloof and say we have nothing to do with you. Bravo! What logic indeed! When there is no affection or sympathy on one side, is it not unnatural to expect devotion, etc. from the other? . . . . . It is suggested that the moderates should try to remove the bad impression created by the non-co-operators. True it is that the moderates follow the Government in all respects. But if the authroities keep on repressing the people and if the moderates continue worshipping the authorities by their hymns of peace-- if this state of affairs goes on for ever- it should be natural to conclude that the moderates have no self-respect, no patriotism and no desire for SWARAJ.

89. Referring to the differences of opinion among the non-co-opeators and the questions to be discussed in the next session of the Congress, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 12th December,remarks:- That which can be obained through non-violence is lawsys difficult to be achieved by the use of force. Non-violence is bound to triumph in the end. Whatever it be, the British people are the most constitititutional and just of all the nations of the world. By divine dispensation the British people are ruling over India. Nations, like individuals, must pass through the stages of infancy, youth, old age and death. Politicains say that it is possible for empires to live for ever through constant re-juvenation by the force of their righteousness. We think so too. Fortunately the last two thousand years saw no subversion of

justive in the British Empire. During the premiership of Mr. Lloyd George this impariing of justice occurred for the first time; but he himself suffered in consequence and lost the premiership. We hope that the golory of British justice will remain for all time as also the golory of the empire.

Government and the depressed classes.

90. The MANORAMA, of the 1st December, agrees with the Hon'ble Mr. Knapp in thinking that the people could do more for the uplift of the depreesed classes than the Government but thinks that it would have been more to the benefit of the depressed classes if the Government had, instead of creating a Labour benefit of the depressed classes if the Government had, instead of creating a Labour department at enormous cost been ready to grant greater facilities and encouragement to them in the matter of education. The paper refers to the various steps taken in Mysore and Baroda for their uplift, points out that in Madras the Labour department, to whose care these classes are entrusted has, without doing and good proportionate to the expenditure involved, given room for trouble in classes. It, therefore, arrives at the conclusion that a separate department is not changes should be introduced in its working.

The Panchma (Adi-Andhra) problem.

91. Under this heading, a correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 5th December, remarks:- . . . . . Government will levyfresh taxes for village sanitation, free and

compuslory education and the provision of houses for the labourers. A large portion of the taxes will be utilized for filling the stomachs of the high officials of the Government and for profiting the contractors, and at last not even one-tenth of the amount will be spent for the real benefit of the people. Moreover, the system of education will be in the hands of the Government, and will be opposed to the ideals of the country.

The political struggle in India.

95. In the course of a leader, under the subscription 'V.R.' the SUTANDIRAN, of the 3rd December, traces the history of the political struggle in India from 1905 when, according to it, the desire for SWARAJ first became evident among the Indians, and makes the following observations among others:- The moment the partition of Bengal was thought of, they began to entertain an irresponsible hostility for the Englsih. Thre reason for this feeling was that poeverty in the country was increasing on account of the system of administration followed by Englishmen. The Bengalis thought that it was the Government that were responsible for the slavish condition of the Indians and they came to the conclusion that it was their duty, to try to destroy the Government. Bombs, revolvers and secret conspiracies were much in evidence in the country and robberies and murders increased. To prevent such offences in the future, the Government brought into existence the Rowlatt Act, which the people determined to root out at any cost. They sought the advice of Mr; Gandhi who atarted the SATYAGRAHA movement. Till then, the people were full of doubts, fear and hatred.

As soon as Gandhi began to lead, the first two feelings disappeared altogether and the feeling of hatred also was disappearing gradually. Mr. Gandhi advocated truth. So the people began to express openly that SWARAJ was their ideal. Bombs and revolvers did not terrify the Government as much as the principle of non-vilence underlying the SATYAGRAHA, Actuated by this fear, they resorted to cruel laws, but the people withstood all repression. The latter rea ized that, if they gave up their stupidity and wekness, SWARAJ would come of its own accord, and also that Indians could not hope to acquire it as long as a section of them continued to be slaves. This movement also taught us that the people had the capacity and the power to alter this unrighteous administration. We have seen that many things which we deemed to be impossible are bing accomplished.

SER The Indian Medical Service.

96. Referring to a recent telegram that the Secretary of State for India proposes to appoint thirty Europeans to the Indian Medial Service, the DRAVIDAN, of the 5th December observes:- When the whole world is aware of the prayer of the Indians that they should be given the same perferment as the Europeans in the Military, Civil and Medical departments, Lord Peel alone seems to heed it not! If his plea is that he is not aware of the likes and dislikes of Indians, we should say that he does not discharge his duties as the Secretary of State for India properly. If, on the other hand, he says that he has realized the aspirations of the Indian people , he has evidently disregarded their claims in his present proposal and we strongly condemn his unjust course. There is no doubt that the Indianswill feel greatly

aggrieved by his action in giving special privileges, pay and allowances to the European medical officers; for, he is not only ignoring the rights of the Indians hereby but also lavishing poor India's money most extravagantly. While the Indians have the capacity and intelligence to discharge the duties of any high office efficiently, it is highly regrettable that Lord Peel has brushed aside their claims.

97. The MANORAMA, of the 5th December, observes that the ~~necessity of the proposed~~ necessity of the proposed recruitment of thirty Europeans to the Indian Medical Service on highly favourable terms is being questioned and hopes that this matter will receive the attention of the Indian legislature.

98. Referring to the same subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 9th December, writes:- Why should a few English medical men be sent for and offered special concessions, when a number of efficent Indian doctors are availabe here? It is alleged that many do not like to go over to this country for the existing salries and that the Europeans here would not consent to be treated by Indian medical men. But there is no room to think that the European officials, who come here to treat the Indians without any racial distinction and to lead them to the paradise of SWARAJ, will detest being attened by Indian doctors. . . . . It is stated that it is proposed to offer ~~hiher~~ higher salaries to them, as competent men are not availabe on account of the inadequacy of the present salary. Efficient medical men will have a good living there alone and it is only second-rate men that will go here. If the present salaries will not

satisfy them, how can it be said that the proposed increase will satisfy them? Further, if they should go away after five years of stay in this country, the experience they have gained at our cost will be of no use to us. Again, Indian medical officials will be barred from securing high posts. What are the Government of India and the Ministers, who are in charge of the Medical department, going to do?

NCS Boycott of British goods.

99. Remarking that India is now agitating to get SWARAJ under the British Empire, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th December observes:- If SWARAJ should be obtained according to this ideal, the British Government should grant it to us. As it appeared that they would not themselves grant it, the non-co-operation programme was adopted to bring political pressure to bear upon them to grant it. If the British people press the British Government to grant SWARAJ to India so as to pacify the Indians, the British Government have to give in. Therefore, if in addition to causing inconvenience to the Government, we inconvenience the British people also by not co-operating with them, we would be accelerating the time of the acquisition of SWARAJ. By the sale of British goods in India, the British capitalists and labourers are benefited and any decrease in this trade will afeect their prosperity proportionately. So it is clear that a protest against the boycott of British goods indicates only ignorance of the characteristics of political agitation.

NB The MARICHA trick of Diwan Bahadur Seshagiri Rao.

100. Characterising an article of Diwan Bahadur Duraseti Seshagiri Rao, which appeared in the DESASEVA as opposed

to the non-Brahman movement, under this heading, the NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 6th December, remarks:- . . . .The proposal to introduce the principle of communal representation into Ceylon also is proof positive that the non-Brahman movement in the Madras Presidency as also in other places will attain complete success in a short time. Is it prudent to speak against communal representation in the face of a resolution passed also at the meeting of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee on the importance of such representation on the committee? Will the other religionists like the Muhammadans, the Christians, etc. accept this? What then is the sin committed by the non-Brahmans?

106. The NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 7th December, reports the

Sitaram

The Rampa Agency.

MATRUSEVA to have published thus:- "It seems Alluri Sitarama Raju in the Agency rose up in revolt against the Government. We have been searched at Kovvur for the last fifteen days, and it is alleged that we supply the rioters with provisions. They (the police) did not allow us to take along with us rice, gingili-oil, chillies, salt, etc. It appears that all the carts are searched likewise at Peddapur and Narasapatnam. The people of Polavaram, Gutala and Sitanagram are made to starve without food. We will have to starve, if we so not take goods (provisions) from Rajahmundry to Bhadrachalam, as has been done from the days of our great grandfathers. They too will have no food, and we are afflicted". Mr. Kameswara Rao reports it to be the cry of the boatmen.

110. Referring to a communication sent to the TRIBUNE by

the brother of Lala Lajapt Rai about the halth of the latter in jail, the TAMIL NADU, of the 10th December, observes:-

PP Political prisoners.

It is a sin that a patriot like Lala Lajpat Rai was born in India. Excellent souls ought not to be born in this country. It is clear that the Lala is not only confined in prison but is also suffering from disease. There is no use of reading all this and keeping quiet. It is highly essential that the leaders should adopt such a course as will secure the release of all patriots in jail including the Lala and the Mahatma.

111. Adverting to the communique wridrawing Government advertisements ffom certain newspapers, the TAMIL NADU of the 10th December, observes:- Perhaps advertisements are withheld from these papers on account of their criticizing the actions of the Government from time to time. A Government which exists for serving the people should act in the same manner towards all without exhiniting any partiality. We credited the Governor of Madras with a keen intellect. But we have to change our opinion from this foolish act. There is however nothing surprising in such actions in a country without SWARAJ.

Press Nespapers and Government advertisements.

115. The TAMIL NADU, of the 10th December, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an appeal to Christians to become members of the Congress and cease to co-operate with

NCS Christians and non-co-operation.

the Government until the latter agree to act according to the wishes of the people. In the course of the appeal, the following observations occur:- Mahatma Gandhi began to work for the redemption of India, seeing the ingratitude of the English Government and their other cruel acts. It is our duty to say that no self-respecting man can co-operate with this Government, which subjected the Indians to indescribable suffering through the Punjab massacre and the Rowlatt Act. The movement of non-co-operation spread to very place and made the people there wake up in the face of the cruel repression of the Government, which sent 25,000 persons to prison inorder to crush this movement. Even Mr. Gandhi was imprisoned; but his divine movement is resounding everywhere. The preaching of Gandhi is the same as that of our Christ. What is the condition of our country? Should it not acquire liberty? When our Mother Bharata is shedding tears, can we, her sons, persist in being slaves to Englishmen and does it become us to do so?

120. The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 8th December, writes:-

Press

The Prince's Protection Bill.

Why did His Excellency the Viceroy so hurriedly use his emergency powers to secure the passage of the Bill? Why was he so anxious about it then? It is obvious that the Government of India acted as they did under some secret influence from some quarter. Although the Bill has not been thrown out altogether, it is some satisfaction that it cannot come into operation for some time yet.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 23RD DECEMBER 1922.

NO. 51 OF 1922.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

'(k) GENERAL.

1. In a leader underthis heading, the HINDU writes:-

NCS The slough of despond.

"The Mahatma is in jail, and and those of us on whom he has laid the burden of carrying on his great mission may well ask(of carrying on his great h ourselves what he would say of the present state of things if he were a free man. Is it too far-fetched to think that even his abundant faith in his countrymen can hardly stand the strain of the depression that would overtake ~~he~~ his stout heart? For it does not need any particular keeness of vision to detect that xx all is not well with us. Our enemies are exulting over the fact, our candid friends are playing the congenial part of Job's comforters, but we need the assistance of neither to realize a situation which impinges so painfully upon one's consciousness. That we are at the nadir of our fortunes is indeed so perfectly patent that not the least part of our present misfortunes is contributed by a querulous tendency to hasty diagnosis and empiritc remedies suggested with the desperation of a doctor trying a folorn hope for a moribund patient".

2. NEW INDIA writes:- "We have had reasons in any number

SER Proportionate pensions.

advanced to account for the fact that over a hundred members of the Imperial Services have applied for proportionate

pensions. The Calcutta correspondent of the London TIMES, however, gives a reason why the applications are not more numerous than they are. It is that the members of the Sevices entertain a fear lest any change in the relation between England and India might affect their destinies . . . .
But, though India does not want these men, it is preposterous to suggest that she would deny the payment of pensions. She would ever honour her commitments, although there will always be a few wild people who would be threatening to disown them".

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VERNACULAR PAPERS

1-FOREIGN POLITICS.

Emigration to the Malay Peninsula.

2. Reviewing the report of the committee appointed to enquire into, and report on, the condition of the Indians, in the Malay Peninsula, the NYAYA DIPIKA remarks:- To what extent immorality has spread in the islands may be inferred fromthe small percentage of their female population in proportion to the males among the emigrants. . . It is not wrong to say that the system followed there in punishing a coolie, when he leaves his service, is like slave-trade. In the name of retrenchment Indian clerks are turned out of service. . . . . We wish that the legislatures may, even now, attempt to redress the grievances of the emigrant Indians, so as to safegurad the respect and the prestige of India, without wasting their time over the appointment of

useless enquiry committees, which involve an expenditure of lakhs of the people's money here.

Col. The Indians in Ceylon.

4. The SUTANDIRAN publishes a continuation of the series of articles under this heading by a correspondent in the course of which he quotes figures to prove that the wages earned by the Indian labourers there, be they men, women or children, are very low on account of several causes, the corruption among the KANGANIS and others being one of them, and adds:- The maximum earning of a husband and wife per mensem will not exceed Rs. 20 and, even for this, they have to forgo one meal. The question is whether this amout will do for their maintenance. If these labourers take ill, they cannot earn even this. When a family is not able to pull on with Rs. 20 even in India, how can it be possible in Ceylon where the price of every article is very high. The majority of the vendors of articles inplatations are KANGANIS and, as they have no competion, labourers have to pay them whatever price they demand. If, under these circumstances, the labourers have some guests from other plantations, they have practically to starve. If an account is taken at the end of the year, naturally the labourer will find himself indebted either to the planter or to the KANGANI. God alone knows how he can clear debts contracted in this manner.

Col. The Indians in South Africa.

8. The SWADESAMITRAN reproduces from the LEADER an article in which the writer refers to the Europeans of South Africa attempting to create racial hatred and, remarking that they

appear to be enemies not only of the British Empire but of the whole world, asks whether the Government of India are going to tolerate the direct boycott of the Indians by the Colonia-ls.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

13. The Kanthirava observes:--Giving false evidence is a serious offence and every citizen guilty of it is duly punished. But when the offenders happen to be police officers, as we wee in the case of the two Sub-Inspectors of Meerut, what is the kind of punishment meted out? One is transferred to a smaller station and other's rank was just lowered by one grade, and both are still Sub-Inspectors. Nominally their promotions have been stopped. Even this fact might be ignored after a time and the promotions granted as usual. What, then, is the penalty for giving false evidence? We wonder when (in whose reign) we shall find our laws do away with this uneven justice resulting in one kind of punishment for the people and another for the officers of Government.

The scales of justice.

NCS. 24. The Andhrapatrika reports the Young India to have published an article from the published an article from the pen of a correspondent. The following are some of the remarks appearing therein:--......In the west the Government by the people rests on the shoulders of the members of the merchant class. The Parliament has become an association of person, who work for special gains. The answer to the question, whether the down-trodden Indians can attain real independence, or only a delusive rule by themselves, depends, upon the movement adopted to be free from the fetters of dependence. What meaning is there is saying that there is freedom and the right of election, when the general masses

are depending on the selfish for their living, when they have to sell their bodies for the wages they are paid, and when they are obliged to starve if they do not like to do so ?.... It is the spinning-wheel alone that can prevent the arbitrary rule of the few.

25. In the course of its leader regarding the victory of Irelend, the Andhrapatrika writes:--.......England will lose her reputation, if she does not soon recognize the Independence of India, the crest-jewel of the British Empire . The conditions in India have not yet become critical.....It will conduce to the welfare of England, to respect the self-control of India, and make the aspirations of the country bear fruit very soon. Indians will not fail to achieve swaraj if, with determination, they make utmost efforts.......

The Legislative Councils.

31. The weekly News echoes the view that the argument of some person, that non-co.-operation can be observed within the councils by those who get into them, cannot hold water in the face of the past experience and, detailing the occasions on which the voice of the members therein could not have any effect, says:--When the Executive have the power, courage and capacity to veto the resolutions of even the co-operators in the Legislative Council, how can the non-co-operators do any work in such councils? At this stage we think it is better to stay out and work on the lines chalked out by the Congress than to enter the Legislative Councils and trouble ourselves. It will take some years yet to stop the levy of new taxes. If the attitude of the Government changes, a few benefits may result form these councils. Until the Indians get complete control over the finance, the people cannot be happy. To think of doing many things by getting into the councils in thhis critical juncture is quite a dream. Further, the programme of non-co-operation should not be changed at this time when Mr.Gandhi is in jail.

NCS. 32. The Andhrapatrika reports the Servant to have written as follows:--......The fortune to use the political weapon of non-co-operation which hates violence, and which the world has never known before, has, uner the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, fallen to the lot of India alone.
No Government can stand even for a moment without enjoying in some measure, the sympathy and the co-operation of the ruled. The last step in the non-co-operation movement is mass civil disobedience for which the people must be prepared........The arbitrary rulers will create troubles to the voters in any ways for giving their votes to the non-co-operators, and cause them pin-pricks.
They may adopt any number of repressive measures......

33. A correspondent to the Kistnapatrika observes:-......
We should consider the acts which are being done before our eyes, acts which are equal to poison, and must adopt that magic-speell which will prove efficatious for the time being. It is not right to be vacillating on puranic considerations in matters of politics........Of late, Mr.Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya conpared the 'council entry to a man's answering the calls of nature with the pithambaram (a sacred yellow cloth) on. This comparison will not be intelligible to any others but the Brahmans. The warning given in this wonderful manner with regard to the councils cannot but be perplexing to us. We may suppose that he has given vent to this curious opinion, merely because of his bent for spiritual-thinking.......
More than his criticism, Mr.Challa Sehagiri Rao's speech which has neither head nor tail, has compared them (the councils) sinful things by saying, 'you are an outcaste crow, you had better not touch me.........As Mr.Chotani heard that the Sultan had resigned his eat, he sent a telegram and found it was not so. He has therefore issued

notices that the English people have uttered a falsehood, and that they are cheats and mischievous people, and that he offers his hearty salutiations to the Sultan. . . . When the news reaches that the Sultan comes to India, she feels as if something is actually going to ruin. Mr. Chotani has published a big notice asking the people not to forget the English methods and their fox-like tricks. If the people should at once enter the councils and remove the Englishmen from their appointments, one by one, that alone should be considered as SWARAJ by wise men.

34. The TRILINGA writes:- . . . . . It is said that the present Legislative Councils are lifeless and useless. It is also stated that they are living corpeses. We cannot say whether those who wrote these sentences did so when they were in a sleepy mood or when they were dreamy; but we can certaily say that they have not written these when they were in full consciousness. How can any intelligent person forget the highly defective nature of the work turned out by the Legislative Councils? These councils may be said to be bodies which are not fully representative; but how can they be living corpses like the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee? Do not these Legislatures impose taxes on us, and do we not pay them? Does not the Government torment the people using the Legislative Councils as its support? Are we not submitting ourselves to it? Do they not take our money and spend it as they like? While all such things are being done, how can we say that the councils are useless? How can we call them lifeless? To those who argue that we should not stand as candidates to the council,

the action of the nationalist members of the Ceylon Legislature cannot but teach a lesson. . . . . If we should try to bring the Government to a standstill by the observance of constitutional methods such as these, they cannot but yield . .

38. In an article on Ahimsa (non-violence), they YUVABHARATHAM contrasts the fialure of violence in the Mappilla rising in Mlabar, with the success of Akali non-violence in the Punjab. The results of each are classified thus:-

Comml. Mappillas and Akalis.

MAPPILLA RISING --VIOLENCE --RESULTS

1. Failure; 2. Unlimited ruin; 3. Imprisonement, simple and rigorous, gallows and transportation for many; 4. Cruel repression; 5. Rapes and lootings; 6. Breach of Hindu-Muslim unity; 7. Injury to the public; 8. Loss of wealth; 9. A closed door for the peace mission of Congress-KHILAFAT workers; 10. Various calamities like the Martial La, etc.

AKALI NON-VIOLENT HOLY STRUGGLE-RESULTS.

1. Success; 2. No ruin; 3. No breach of peace; 4. No molestation of other communities; 5. Sympathy from outside communities; 6. Impossibility of wholesale repression; 7. Fall of prestige of Government; 8. Universal praise in India; 9. The world sympathises and the Britishers feel shame; 10. The police and military feel disgust; 11.Increase of self-confidence in the Akalis; 12. Increase in the strength of political movements; 13. The Sikh cause thrives.

The article advocates non-vilence as the only MANTRA for liberating India from her base slavery.

The end of the Akali struggle.

39. The VEERAKERALAN says:- In the end the ~~sorul~~ soul-force of the Akalis did overcome the material force of the Government.

The YUVAKEALAM:- The Sikhs have taught the Punjab Government a first class lesson. . . . . When the cruel Rakshasi of the Government's brute-foce began to get scorched in the pure flame of the soul-foce of divine SATYAGRAHA of the Akalis, she turned back in flight being no longer able to suffer that heat. See how the flame of SATYAGRAHA lit by Mahatma Gandhi has spread and has begun to throw its lustre on the world.

The MUSLIM SAHAKARI, however, supports the Government: It points out that the Akalis have done many unlawful things and their behaviour has been insolent, that may terrible incidents have been averted by the tact and patience of the Government and that the whole trouble was due to the Akalis refusing to co-operate with the Government in the matter of Reforms, which again was due to their having fallen into the net of the non-co-operators. The articles refer to the 'rascality' and 'Boshevism' of the Akalis but express the hope that all reasonable Sikhs will accept the Gurudhwara Bill passed by the Government.

SWARAJ.

NCS

41. In the course of an article dilating upon the meaning of SWARAJ, the SUKHODAYAM, observes:- SWARAJ means the replacement of the present British administration of India by foreigners by one carried on by Indian representatives for the welfare of India. It therefore implies our doing

away with the system of being led by the nose by foreign bureaucrats. When, prior to the rule of the East India Company, Hindu and Muhammadan Kings ruled the lad, people led a life of health, wealth and prosperity, while now penury and pestilence press hard upon them. On account of the panfs of hunger, we have lost our love of religion and feeling of brother-hood, self-respect, manliness and other high qualities. There is not the least doubt that the reason for all this the absence of SWARAJ and the existence, on the other hand, of an irresponsible foreign autocracy. The Indians are not inferior to the Europeans and, if an opportunity presents itself, they can demonstrate to the world that they are even better than the Europeans. Even granting for pruposes of argument, that there are none in our country, who are as qualified as the British officials, a "good foreign administration" cannot be equal to SWARAJ, and we cannot therefore accept it. Whether we prosper or fall, we will not recognize a foreign administration as against SWARAJ, whatever may ~~thatxthex~~ be the merits of the~~e~~ former. The rule of a country by another has not a divine sanction. The doctrine that the strong can rule the weak by keeping the latter under subjection is now totally forgotten and and it will not be tolerated again by the world. Canada, Africa, Australia and other countries under the British Empire have SWARAJ and this has historial sanction. Strength and capacity do not entitle one nation to rule another. If so, America and Germany, which possess greater strength and wealth than England should

rule her. But history will not accept this principle. Small countries as well as big ones should have SWARAJ. This is the law of nature and the will of God. So, the demand of SWARAJ by India is but legitimate. There is as much difference between SWARAJ and foreign rule, as there is between the master and the slave. But SWARAJ will bring both to the same level. If SWRAJ prevails, the subjects need not be afraid of the bureaucrats, but the latter will be afraid of the former. The tax payers will be considered masters and those who collect the taxes and conduct the administration servants. Trade industries and agriculture will flourish as before and the country will become wealthy under SWARAJ; for the foreign rulers are capable only of increasing expenditure, raising loans and enhancing taxation, but do not know how to increase the eealth of the country. SWARAJ alone is a free government and the life under it alone is a happy one.

NCS The sin of Videsi.

42. The YUVABHARATHAM compares India to a strong well-built man who, by continued starvation, has been reduced to a nervous weakling, eye-sight dimmed and easily bullied by a small boy. "Is it a fault that when this government which is powerless like a mere boy says 'hungh' through its police or military, the hug body of India begins to tremble?" It is due to dim eye-sight, due to starvation consequent on poverty. It is to remove this poverty and restore India's lost manhood that Mahatma Gandhi preached the gospel of CHARKA. The paper asks: "Isn't

it enough if men become slaves? Should the gods we enslaved too? " "All men born in India have become slaves of the British. But no one ever thought that in that transaction India's gods were also enslaved.... We fondly believed that this dirt (foreign cloths, etc.) would not infect the gods. But as a matter of and our gods seem to delight in foreign silk. Alas! Oh Indians! We for our part have begun to perish, but is it dharma to dirty our temples with foreign cloth? Is the smoothness of foriegn cloth due to its having been immersed in the heavenly sea or to its being dipped in animal fat? Not content with defiling your body and your temple with these fat-coated cloth, do you consider it virtuous to drag your gods also into the debasing game" . . . . Adverting to the plea that the foreign cloth is chepa, the paper exclaims: "Of course it is cheeper to eat in other people's houses than in one's own. Only you must be prepared to get kicks and rebukes. . . . . See how we spend our days as perfect fools selling our gods, our ancestors' country and religon, on the plea of 'profit', 'profit', and giving that money to the war funds of Europeans to enable them to fight with one another. Alas! Wake up at leat now!

Con — The Gaya Congress.

43. In an elaborate allegory, the YUVABHARATHAM compares the forthcoming Gaya congress to an anniversary offering to appease the spirits of departed ancestors and points out how selfish motives in the minds of the officiating priests of the past vitiated the offering caused displeasure to the

spirits of the India's parents, and let loose on India devils and demons such as evil deaths, famine, the Rowlatt Act, Jallianwalla Bagh, murders, etc. besides a demon in the form of high prices consequent on a war that took place somewhere in the world, till at last no one in the great Indian family appointments and some wealth during the demoniacal possession only increased the virulence of that possesion. In course of time all members of the family began to suffer severe infliction. As demons generally clip women's hair and set fire to their cloth, etc., these demons also began to do terrible acts such as insulting women, and shooting hundreds of innocent people with cannon. It was then that the real priest Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene. . . . The evil spirits fearing that their domination will be destroyed as a result of the offerings performed by this virtuous priest, set about to obstruct him. Several important priests were imprisoned and last of all Gandhi himself. . . To obstruct the forthcoming ceremony, the evil spirits are beginning to appear before us in certain charming shapes: The Rakshasa woman, i.e. the Legislative Council, from which demon and devil proceed has already appeared before the priests amd some of them are already charmed by her. . We should not be bewitched by the base council. . . . .

44. The KISTNA PATRIKA observes:- . . . . Seeing the present disorderly state of affairs, the authorities imagine, that they have succeeded. But it is a delusion. The moderates are 'showing their teeth' for, they think that what they had predicted has happened. Those who had no faith in the mvement are now trying to 'fold up their

t

tails'. But those who can see that, behind all these objections, there is still mustering a peculiar force are very few. Some of the authorities themselves know, that the want of enthusiasm now discernible in the movement is not due mainly to the fact, that it (the movement) has ceased to exist. Though it may appear that the country has now adopted a peaceful attitude to a little extent, some at least will not fail to see, that a severe form of agitation is yet to come in a worse form than before. This has shown itself already, to a small extent, in the Akali movement. Those who have watched the movement have understood that in a country where five-thousand five hundred Sikhs marched forward (to fight) like the well-trained peace-army, without caring in the least, though they had been scolded, beaten, and illed, any wonderful act may still be exhibeted by its people in the future. . . . . .

EI The Inchcape Committee.

47. Adverting to the letter addressed by the European Association to the Inchcape Committee, the YOGAKSHEMAM says:- If the several crores of Indians were created for the benefit of a few Europeans, it would certainly be incumbent on the Government to levy further unjust taxes from Indians in order to help the Europeans to pass their days without any difficulty. If the association would suggest that also, let Indians mind the rest of the business. . .

The non-Brahman movement.

50. In its leader the ANDHRAPARAKASIKA writes:- . . . We are sorry that there is none who attempts to know the present state of the non-Brahman movement. Clear it is to the outside

world the ill-will and the indifference of the Tamil non-Brhamans towards the Telugu non-Brahmans and vice versa. Selifshness, self-esteem, a thirt for places, a desire for authority, and a love of flattery, are rampant. Not even one non-Brahman has come out to remove them. All are attemting to become commanders-in-chief. Can the world hold them when all the soldiers become commanders-in-chief? Does one become valiant as soon as one learns to stroke one's moustaches. . . . . . . Differences of opinion are on the increase day by day. The originators of the non-Brahman movement are the members of the Justice party. There are several reasons to say that the views of this body are very intricate- . . . . . We thought that misgivings would arise, if one of Mr. Ramalinga Reddi's abilities were to join the Justice party, which is being tossed about on the waters of a thirst for higher appointments. So it has happened . It will be well to remedy this state of things. Ruin will surely overtake the movement if it is not done immediately. Times have changed, and with it, the vision of the people and their opinions also. The views and the outlook of the Justice party have not changed.. . .. . Great men among the non-Brahmans think that the Ministers are a selfish set of people, who cannot abanondon their desire for high appointments. Who are the doctors that can cure the malady which has overtaken the movement?. . . . It-s evil features cannot be removed if the Ministers still occupy their positions. At least one of them should resign his appointment, make a tour in the province, and lay strong foundations for the movement itself. If not, destruction will surely befall, it. It is well if one of them tries to become a member of the Council of State, and

the other two try for seats in the Legislative Assembly, as it is no use to sit idle in the Provincial Legislative Council alone.

51. Referring to a 'fight' between the RYOT and the NYAYA DIPIKA regarding the conduct of Rao Bahadur P. C. N. Ethirajulu Nayudu, a correspondent to the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA observes:- . . . . What are the non-Brahman leaders doing in this matter? Does not even one of them know what is good language and what is bad language? Do they not read the criticisms in these two papers, and do they express their approval of them or keep quiet unable to do anything? It is alfeady too late. We believe that the non-Brahman leaders will do well to open their eyes, and do good to their community, by putting down its internal dissensions, which are highly prejudicial to the non-Brahman movement.

NCS The non-co-operation movement.

55. In a leader on the present situation, the SUKHODAYAM writes:- The Government and the co-operators are, by acting unitedly and methodically and suitably to the times trying to crush non-co-operation. But the mighty British Government and the leaders of co-operation who are adepts in the art of hypocrisy have not been successful in this direction. Imprisonment, security sections, prohibition orders, punitive police, fines and other devices have been as futile in curbing our ture movement. It has increased in strength and spirit of sacrifice in proportion to the attacks of the Government and others. Now that union is

daily deceasing in our movement, leaders are differing in their views and signs of cleavage are becomg apparent here and there, we should, with faith in the Mahatma, advance forward facing every mishap with courage and with the conviction that everything is for our own good. Irrespective of cleavage, if any, those who have confidence in the constructive programme and non-violent civil disobedience should keep their ideal steadily in their view and render active national service.

SER — The Indian Medical Service.

64. Remarking that the agitation for Indianizing the services is not heeded much, because the Government think that serious harm will result if a number of appomtments in the public services in India is not in the hands of Europeans to the Indian Medical Service, and writes:- Apart from other matters the Secretary of State for India should have bestowed some thought on the fact that the Indians in the Medical department have been undertaking and discharging, in a faultless manner, all the duties performed by the members of the Indian Medical Service. It is foolish to shower encomiums on the work of the Indians in the department on one occasion and declare them to be quite useless on another. Can the Indian Medical officers, who were fit to hold any office in the period of the late war with Germany, be unfit to treat the Europeans in India now? While there are numerous Indian medical men, who are experts in western system of medicine, it indicates nothing but irresponsibility on the part of the Seecretary of State

for India and the Government of India to take steps as if there is a lack of men to occupy posts in the Indian Medical Service.

65. The NYAYA DIPIKA remarks:- . . . . . It is surprising that the Civil and the Medical departments have become the monopoly of the whites. The diehards of the White Hall ignore the decisons of the Provincial Governments and the Government of India and arbitrarily agitate, with a view to violate the aspirations of the Indians. Viscount Peel does not hesitate, in the least, to make the request of the Government of India to throw open the services to the Indians as much as possible a cry in the widerness. The arbitrariness of the authorities cannot be put an end to unless and until an Act is passed for the Indianization of all the services.

66. Referring to Earl Winterton's reply to Sir T. Bennett's letter assuring him about the consideration of the question

SER Consideration still?

of the enhancement of the pay of the Civilian officers under this heading, the NYAYA DIPIKA remarks:- We would have tried to show the falseness of the figures to the Government and the public, but for the fact that the representation of the Civil Service officers was unfortuntely of a confidential nature. It seems that, for want of funds, they do not enjoy the authorities were to back up all these desires, they will be regarded as having given the Reforms with the one hand and taking them back with the other. Does

Earl Winterton still give his consideration to the question of the jolly life of the Euroepean officers, while Indians are without food to eat and are suffering from penury, which is like the fierce hell.

RA Repression.

69. Adverting to the arrest and conviction of Parvati Devi the SWARAT points out that her spirited and burning statement (a translation of which is published in the paper) is such as would heat the blood of any one that has the least glow of patriotism in him. It observes tht this incident shows that the demon of repression has begun to pounce even upon the weaker sex. Referring then to the news of the arrest of Sri Sankaracharya of Sarada Peedom, it says:- "We do not know what to say except that the present administration, in which the evil lordship of officers is most pronounced, has now turned towards religion and priests and begun to grin at them". It observes that it is noteworthy that the people strictly followed the advice of Mahatma Gandhi regarding ahimsa even under such provocation and that " we have only to rejoice at these acts of repression as they tend to shorten the way towards our goal of SWARAJ".

SER Oath of allegiance to the Crown.

71. Referring to the suggestion made by a member of the House of Commons that the members of the Indian Civil Service as well as those working in muncipalities should be made to take anoath of allegiance to the Crown and to the reply of the Under Secretary thereto that the Statute

of 1868 and the law in force in India precluded the demand of such an oath from those who were recruited in England for service in India and that a big principle was involved in the matter of compelling the officials of the English municipalities to take the oath, the SWADESAMITRAN observes:- When such a restriction could not be imposed on the municipalities in England, will be Ministers and their party, who got an Act passed here imposing a similar restriction on municipalities, say why such a restriction should be imposed here alone? If a big principle is involved in ints introduction in England, can it not apply to India too? The citing of Ireland as an example again cannot hold good, as there seems to be no rule in Ireland that all municipal officials should take an otha of allegiance. Further, the parallel may stand, if India too acquires liberty like Ireland.

Sitaram

The Rampa pithuri.

76. The CONGRESS writes:- The responsibility for supplying the news of the Rampa pithuri has been reserved by the Government for themselves. As some of the newspaper correspondents have taken much pains to colect and sne it to their papes, the Government offica1s have file enraged at this, and have themselves begun to take up this sort of work. It is ridiculous that even the Government should not have found out the real causes of the pirthuri till now, whether the reason for this outbreak is the poverty of the

KOYA DORAIS, or the arnitrary conduct of the Agency officials, or the desire for sovereignty on the part of Sri Rama Raju? Government stated in their communique that one mittadar had been dismissed and that notices were served on others. Will the Government say how those mittadars are conducting themselves at the present time? There is much difference between the communiques issued some time ago, and the one ~~one~~ lately sent forth. Hitherto they did not speak much of the police successes; but now Government have stated that the sepoys and the police have had a fight with the pithuridars, and they have taken possession, to some extent, of the ammunition plundered by them some time ago, as also a portion of the kit belonging to Mr. Raju; that some among the pithridars have been killed, while many others have recieved injuries; and that Raju has had a lucky escape from the police, although he too must have received bad injuries. After a period of three months during which Government have collected all war-materials and sent for and mobilised many sepoys, they are now in a position to say, that they have been able to recover some of the articles carried away in August by the eighty pithuridars under the leadership of Mr. Raju. It is suggested in the communique that Sri Rama Raju effected his escape, but that he might have been wounded. Will Mr. Raju think that his efforts will be of no avail hereafter, stop his pithuri with this, and seek the protection of the Government; or will he strengthen his force with redoubled heroism, and once again oppose the Government? It is well for the Government to tell us how they view the matter. The Madras Mail is an advocate of the Government, and even that

paper has all along been crying out, that Raju is a far-sighted man, that he will not yield so easily that Government have thought lighly of his strength, and that it is the main cause for their not having scored a victory even till this day. As Mr. Raju is a wise and far-sighted person there is no reason to suppose that he will stop his efforts. He will carry on the fight as far as possible. Government also will increase their military forces, and death-dealing machines, and go on with it. The expenditure of the people's money, on a large scale, will then becme imperative. If the Government do not have the 'wreaking of vengeance' as their primary concern, and properly bring the Pithuri to an end, by finding out its real causes, and redressing any just grievances, much flow of blood will stop, unnecessary expenditure will be saved, peace will be established, and satisfaction will prevail among the Koyas.

RA

The cancelled permission to interview Mr. Gandhi.

77. The SWARAT stongly condemns the self-willed action of the Bombay Government in first granting permission to Messrs. C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Hakim Ajmal Khan for an interview with Mahatma Gandhi and subsequentlywithdrawing it, and speculates on why the Bombay Government had recourse to such pranks of madness.

Mil. Ex

India's military expenditure.

78. The SWARAT points out that it is a notorious fact that though from the beginning of the British rule in poor India, the ingnoble policy of disarming thepeople has been followed, yet, on account of the imperialistic thirst

of Britain, India has had to bear the huge cost of a huge army, far too big for her self-defence or for the defence of the Empire. It questions the necessity of maintaining such a large army at the expense of starving and poverty-stricken India. It says "we shudder to think of what would happen to insovent India if she should unfortunately have to remain some more time under such a military policy" and asks "how long shall we put up with such a policy of extravagance and waste?" The paper attributes the mintenance of this huge army to the unlimited imperialistic greed of Britain as well as to her disgraceful distrust of Indians, observes that the Government which has reached the zenith of irresponsibility does not care a straw for protests from the Legislative Assembly and that such waste of public funds can be avoided only when a system of Government responsible to the people is established in the country.

NCS

Civil disobedience and the Congress.

79. The SWADESHABHIMANI writes:- Civil disobedience is a formidable weapon. We should use it with great caution. The country used all the weapons one after another, namely, the boycott of schools, lawcourts, etc. But the avowed non-co-operator knows in his heart of hearts how far these weapons have been successful. When not even 30 to 40 per cent among the people are prepared for the self-sacrifice which such boycott entials, it would be foolish to expect them to make the far greater self-sacrifice demanded by civil disobedience. Any premature attempt towards the latter, therefore, would only mar the faith of the people in the movement and bring it into disrepute. . . . . It is true

that Civil disobedience will have to be adopted one day or other , if SWARAJ is to be attained by peaceful means. But to resort to it without any previous preparation and training therefore would be to ruin the cause itself. It would be most unwise, therfore, to rush into civil disobediecnce in order to aviod the controvercy regarding the entry into the countils.

82. A correspondent to the TAMIL NADU remarks that, while

NCS The non-payment of taxes.

even some non-co-operators are dissatisfied with the decision of Varadarajulu Nayudu not to pay taxes, it needs no comment how it will be taken by themoderates and others and adds:- Even when the Mahatma first started the non-co-operation movement, several people deemed it to ne a matter of mere theory. But the heoric acts of our Sikh brethren there that the sacrifice of Mr. Nayudu will not go in vain? In the eyes of an ascetic, the King is but a straw. Sacrifices like the refusal to pay taxes cannot be rendered by all. It is only saints that have really relinquished everything that are dissatisfied with the action of Mr. Nayudu will doubtless very soon follow his course and applaud him for having led the Tamil and in this matter. May God vouchsafe the promotion of the strength of mind on the part of Mr. Nayudu! May amother BHARATA enable every one of her sons to undergo excellent sacifices!

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 30TH DECEMBER 1922.

NO: 52 OF 1922.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I-FOREIGN POLITICS.

Col . The Indians in Ceylon.

2. The SUTANDIRAN publishes a continuation of the series of articles on this subject from the pen of a correspondent who details how the position of the KANGANIS who have advanced loans to the laboureres and also stood surety for the loans advanced to the latter by the planters is more irksome than that of the labourers themselves inasmuch as the planters can very easily recover their dues by proceeding against the KANGANIS and attaching their properties, while the KANGANIS have no facilities to recover the moneys due to them and, remarking that the new law passed in Ceylon makes no mention whatever of the money du to the KANGANIS, observes:- The Government of Ceylon need not be anxious about the KANGANIS because they are Indians. Several planters who were offering, till the new law was passed, to clear the xxxxxxxxxx amounts due to the KANGANIS gradually have keptsilent ove the subject sine that law came into force. Some of the planters are reported to go eve to the length pf declaring the accounts maintained by the KANGANIS tobe false. In some of the plantations, it is said that the moment the KANGANIS make mention about moneys due to them, the planters try to get rid of them. They easily get the smaller KANGANIS under their control by offering to them

the commisssion, etc., given to the bigger KANGANIS, so that the latter naturally try to get out of the plantations with the labourers. But the planters prevail upon the labourers by presents of cloth, etc., not to follow the KANGANIS, so that the latter are left alone and are left alone and are oftentimes forced to leave the plantations with their families within 24 hours or even 12 hours. They cannot think of an action against the planters, having no money to spend and none to lend it too. The only course for them is to returnto India.

II-HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(h) RAILWAYS.

EI A railway case.

23. Under this heading the VARTA reproduces the following from the Guntur PATRIKA :- The Sub-Collector of Gudur had fallen into a pit on the railway platform of Gudur, as there was ~~ko~~ no light and his leg sprained. He had filed a suit for damges, and a decree was given to him by the High Court for Rs. 5,000 for damages, and Rs. 150 for medical expenses. What about the wives and the children of those who have lost their lives, and the persons who have broken their hands and legs in the railway accident at Satulur?

EI Railways in India.

25. The YUVABHARATHAM says:- Ask any school boy about the benefits of British rule in India and he comes out first with 'Railways'. But railways, posts and telegraph

are all meant for the maintenance of Government and for the speedy transport of troops. It is with this object that all the higher appointments are given to Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Even from the standpoint of commerce, these railways serve foreign companies and planters more than anybody else. The sufferings of third-class passengers who contribute most of trailway revenue need not be described to the readers. As for Eruopeans, their conveneiece must, of course, come first. The Railway department cares principally for the good of foreign companies.

(j) SALT AND ABKARI

Pro. Stop drinking.

26. The MATRUSEVA contains a few verses in which the writer exhorts the people to stop the drink habit. The following remarks occur in them:- Yousowcars, the traitors of the world! You, who go jumping about to bid at the abkari sales! O, you people, who keep on doing all kinds of service for the sake of filling your stomach, and who carry the liquor pots! O, you demons who earn money by killing fols and selling their flesh! O, you hard-hearged people, who sit at the shops for coolie, andmake a livelihood by selling liquor! If you want to earn money, you may do it even by begging for it; but not by engaging yourselves in a work of this kind!. O you sons of Mother India, let the country develop! I fall at your feet; you had better abandon this name and this profession!

(k) GENERAL.

RA The policy of repression.

27. Prefacing its leader, with the follwing paragraph in English, the ANDHRAVANI observes:- "The general feeling among the profession is that the recent orders passed by the magistracy under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, preventing, non-co-opeators and all the sundry from making speeches or holding meetings, and the orders under sections 107 and 108 direction persons to give security are a fraud upon the law, and the Government in initiating proceedings and enabling magistrtes to pass such orders are bringing the administration of justice to contempt , and in this way, the action of the Government and of the magistray is calculated to make people show no respect for law and order. . . Whatever be the number of revolutions which might take place in all other countries, in this wretcehed country of India, no change is to be seen either in the attitude or in the mentality of the authorities. The steel frame is a steel frame after all. . . . . . Are patriotism and love of freedom completely dead in the legal profession in the country? We shall see what answer our lawyer brethren will give to this".

Be it as it may, let us examine a little, how irrelevant and meaningless is the order published to-day in or district.. . . . . . . Is it not a fact known to the District Magistrate that, though similar orders which had been issued in connection with the abkari sales and the

nationalweek were disobedyed, there was no violence anywhere? After all, we need notblame the Distirct Magistrate. We do not know what to say of the police which supplies to him such credible (incredible?) information. It is, however, our belief that the Distric Magistrate knew very well that the report make to the effect that vilence might follow a HARTAL was absolutely false. . . . . . The order merely says that processions, HARTALS, etc., are prohibited; but does not specify the area in which they have been prohibited. . . . . . . It has not been specified as to who have been prohibited. Is it the opinion of the District Magistrate that no one should hold any meeting in the Ganjam district from the 23rd November up to 1st December? Then the meeting known as the Darbar which is to be held to-morrow in the town-hall, and also the meeting to be convened to present a welcome address to His Excellency the Governor, are clearly prohibited by this order. . . . . . But we learn that since the issue of this order, some members of the police staff and certain municipal officials have gone about from house to house not only preaching to shop-keepers and cart-drivers that they should not closetheir shops and cease to drive carts, but also threatening them in many ways. Is this not interference with them and is it not probition? will they punish in a proper way or not the police who are acting like that? Is this not disobeying the order? Is one kind of justice meted out to some people and another kind of justice to some others in the state? Is it so unjust? Let us see what the Government will say to this.

It is understood that in places where theofer has been published, they have been proclaiming that the cosure of shops itself is prohibited. We never thought that Government officials would stoop to such meanness and false announcements. In the order of prohibition, neither the closure of shops nor the stopping of carts has taken place in this country to-day. If it had been any other country, it is needless to point out, what would have happened. . ..
We therefore request the people not to be deceived by such false announcements. . . . .

28. A correspondent to the HITAKARINI writes:- The series of the repressive acts of the Government clearly show that the authorities themselves are rekindling the suppressed flame of the non-co-operation movement.

29. The GUNTUR PATRIKA writes:- The heartless and repressive methods of the Government are again going on. No doubt the westerners speak highly of themselves as persons who have a great respect for womankind in gneral. But this is a mere dream. The imrpisonment of patriots like Duvvuri Subbamma and Parvati Bai, manifests the cruel nature and the hard-heartedness of the Government. Not only women but even moulvis (pandits) are nothing to them. They do not know that the great devotees of God should not be touched.
Even Jagadguru Sankaracharya of Saradapitha had to become a victim to their thirst. When righteousness is abandoned, nothing can stand in one's way. On the one hand we have pleasure to see those already imprisoned being released

from jail while on the other we are sorry that many patirots are again filling it. Ups and downs are inevitable on the field of battle.

30. The MATRUSEVA writes:- . . . . . Tilak Maharaj had as much confidence in soul-force and in the prusuit of moral methods as Mr. Gandhi. He preached clearly that it was possible to oppose brute-force with soul-force, that the brute in man might be subdued by the God within him, that, in politics, one could oppose the violence of others by one patiently bearing,it and that falsehood might be overcome by truth, and injustice by justice.

31. The MATRUSEVA writes:- . . . . In the forthcoming Gaya Congress the item of the boycott of the Legislative Councils will certainly gain strength. They will indeed become lifeless corpses hereafter. Non-co-operation will attain moral success in proportion to the amount of repression which Government may employ. On the very day when Government had imposed two years' rigourous imprisonment on a woman for giving expression to her own opinions, that very day the success of Gandhi began. It is true that the moral strength of the Government has now completely disappeared. There is no Andhra, who does not know Dandu Narayana Raju. No Andhra possesses his peaceful attitude, and unasssuming nature. He is always a man of few words. How can the authorities, who have directed their repressive methods against such a person, command any strength hereafter? Why should we make mention of the action taken by them against

Jagadguru Sankaracharya and Swami Shradhananda? It looks as if the authorities have challenged the whole community of ascetics to come and wage war with them. What do these people, the followers of western civilization, know about the greatness of the Sanyasis living in India? We sympathise with them for their ignorance. We are sorry that, in this era of brute-force, political authority should ~~should~~ shroud the human heart which is full of love with such darkness.... .

32. The TRILINGA writes:- . . . . . . We are not behaving in such a manner as to afford to the moderates of our enemy camp, the Government officials, and the foreigners, and opportunity to enjoy a hearty laugh at our expense. It is necessary that we should soon abandon this position which is very sidastrous to the country- . . . . . Union is now absolutely necessary, and there is nothing wrong in our yielding for the sake of achieving it. It is, therefore, the duty of all those, who have the welfare of the country at heart, to come to a compromise at the Gaya Congress, join together, and thus frustrate the wishes of our enemies. The majority may argue that it is not right to compromise ourselves in regard to fundamental principles and improtant questions. But, inasmuch as we are now engaged in a war with the Government, it may not be wrong for us to arrive at a compromise in regard to certain disputed matters, touching the determination of such means as would ensure success for us in that war. But it would certainly be unrighteous on our part, if we should come to terms on

fundamental questions with them (the Government) .. . . .

33. The TAMIL NADU writes:- Akali prisoners are being kept in the Attock jail and afflicted in various ways such as being hung up on trees, kicked and beaten by LATHIS. A prisoner is said to have lost his life as a result of his having been cruelly thrashed. From this it can be perceived what the fate would be of the Akalis who started the SATYAGRAHA war for the sake of their religious rights. If the Government of the Punjab should be enjoying their time, passing over such a murder in thejail, they will reap the consequences thereof in a very short time.

Commul. The Akali struggle.

34. Referring to the decision of the Punjab Government to release all Akali prisoners above 50 and below 18 years of age, and to the reported transfer of Mr. Beatty, the Police officer who began repression in Gurukabagh, the KERALA PATRIKA observes that it appears from all this that the Punjab Government have now realized that they could not bring the Gurukabagh affair to a proper conclusion by repression.

35. The HITAKARINI remarks: - All the creulties perpetrated by the authorities on the Akalis have proved to be so many grass-blades put into fire. The news received from day to day proclaim the victory of the Akalis. The Gurudwaras Act framed by the rulers is looked upon with indifference. Government have 'relaxed" their arrogance. . . . . The Akalis have suffered all hardships. They were never frightened

at the swords and the LATHI-blows. What matters it to them, who, when beset with any number of worldly troubles, had the peace of mind to say, that they were worshipping God, whether they were in jails, or in the midst of wild fire. . . . . . The release of all the imprisoned Akalis will mean the triumph of their desire, and will involve the defeat of the Government.

The work of killing men is being carried on with great vigour in the world. Apart form the mortality caused by the wretched wars, it has become common for men to be killed by the so-called courts of law under the pretext of maintaining law and order. The Malabar rioters, who have been sentenced to death, are being daily hanged. If the Government should have granted amnesty to, and saved the life of, the Mappillas, who have consciously or otherwise offended, it would have led to the mistakes that the Government have hitherto committed being overlooked in a way. But this principle is never understood by them. Otherwise Mahatma Gandhi need not be in prison now.

37. The TAMIL NADU groups under this heading notes on several topics form the pen of a correspondent which contain the following observtions among others:- People of my stamp cannot accept the statement that the country is not prepared for civil disobedience and that it will become ready for it if the constructive programme is completely worked out. Civil disobedience is a political task and depends upon one's mentality. Those who have strength of mind can even now begin it. Has not Mr. Varadarajulu Nayudu, for instance, now refused to pay tax?

It is understood that the Mappilla prisoners who were sentenced to transportation will shortly be sent to the Andamnas and that they will be permitted to take their wives and children along with them. While the Government have yielded to the wish of the people that the practice of sending prisoners to the Andamns should be stopped, it is not right that they should have resolved to send some of them to that place along with their families. The Government of the Andamans is comparable to the jail administration. It is not known under which law some who have been deemed to be criminals and many who are not offenders are to be placed under that Government? But when it is said that the sun never sets upon the British Empire, how can there be justice or injustice?

54. In its leader the GUNTUR PATRIKA writes:- . . . .

NCS Civil disobedience.

Though the Mahatma had felt that certain brakes were necessary to be applied to the wheel of civil disobedience at the time of the Bardoli decision, and tough the witnesses who had not hone deep into the matter deposed efore the Enquiry Committee that they would fully condemn its adoption from subsequent events like the civil disobedience movement in Nellore and Guntur and also the Akali struggle, it became clear that the people were ready to adopt it and that if a large number of them should do so, Government would revoke all their orders and keep quiet. If the weapon of civil disobedience is not used properly, it is sure that the movement will come to a stop. If we do not carry on this, Government will

prevent even the wearing of KHADDAR, and the prohibition of drink from going ahead. . . . . . If the non-co-operators do not enter the Council of the Madras Presidency, the moderates will not get official positions this time. If, at least, the Brahmans among them are begged not to stand, some trouble may be averted. Where unnecessary, the non-co-operation Brahmans should be asked not to stand as candidates but only the non-co-operating non-Brahmans. If it is done, even that objection (?) may be got over in this Presidency. . . . . . It is improper to ask every one to adopt our path, simply because the 'Justice Party' exists in our province. . . . . . .

SWARAJ.

55. A correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA writes:- . . . Is it possible for all the Indians to give up Government appointments and lead an independent life? The state of dependence will disappear, and independence will be had, only when this is possible. Is it possible for us to carry on the administration of the country ourselves without the help of the foreign government? Union among the people will be confirmed, and a permanent SWARAJ will be established, only when this is possible. Destitute of the means of an independent living, several persons are not able to give up their appointments, for fear they may become the objects of reidicule: though they are aware that it is sinful to be slaves under the alines who are bent upon a rule opposed to the wishes of the people.

56. Proceeding to explain what is not SWARAJ, a corres-

pondent to the SUKHODAYAM opines that the subsititution of Indian for the Euroepean officers will not amount to SWARAJ as such a substitution will not bring about any change in the system of administration and makes the following observations among others:- When doctrines of democracy are accepted and a government responsible to the tax-payers is established in India, the services will become Indianized of their own accord. It is power and not offices that we want. We agitate for rights and not for salaries. We do not stand in the way of several races remaining in India. But we want that foreigners should live in concord with t people here enjoying equal rights and that all racial distincitions should be removed in the matter of adminis-tration. If the mentality of the bureaucrats that they belong to a superior race does not change, there can be neither SWARAJ nor mutual good will between Europeans and Indians. We require a democratic Government, which will be answerable to the people and which will suit the Indian civilization. We should not adopt wholesale the western custioms and habits, laws and institutions as even then it will only be western government and not an Indian admini-stration. We should follow the principles of the ancient SANALANA DHARAMA adapting them to the present needs of the country. The budgets and administrative methods should be on Indian lines. That alone is SWARAJ.

57. In the course of an article a correspondent to the GUNTUR PATRIKA observes:- . . . . . After enjoying righteous-ness, wealth and sensuality, the first three essentials laid down by the Hindu sages for the attainment of man, we have

to realize the essence of life, destroy the snare of illusion which envelops us and attain the highest object for man. The present day Indians have forgotten the goal of their lives. There is no morality at all. As for religion, wrong notions are multiplying. Even in the matter of transactions, there is no goal. With no food to eat, they are wilfully resorting to many deceitful ways meely to fill their stomachs. The non-co-operation philosophy ehorts such Indians to burn up their mental inclinations with the fire of judgment, renunciation and sacrifice, and attain putity of mind. . . . . . Keeping the welfare of their own country uppermost in their view, Englsihmen are not contributing very much to our advancement. . . . . . In conformity with the requirements of time and place, the people of each country must devise ways and means for their own country. The English ideals of life cannot therefore resuscitate us. Politics is the goal for Englishmen, while salvation is the goal for Indians. How can the progeny of the Indians, who have been working for generations together for the empire of Heaven (salvation), progress to-day by following the ideals of the life of others? That is a thing quite unnatural. For some time we may possibly be under an illusion, but the ideal of our life is salvation, and not politics. Having kept ourselves in a state of illusion under the British Government, we have failed to discharge properly our legitimate duties, and deceived ourselves into the adoption of the ideals of others, we have deteriorated, and our bodily vigour has gone down. As the power of thinking has been destroyed, many Indians are behaving like lunatics. In every trival matter we have thus depended on others and have lost our power. At present the non-co-operation movement has undertaken to regeneate us. . . . . Owing to the loss of our bodily givour, courage and steadiness have gradually declined and we are not able even to do our duty.

58. The SUKHODAYAM has a leader on this subject, in the course of which it observes:- We demand SWARAJ, that is, a system of government which will be answerable to the tax-payers. But the existing government is an irresponsible one which does not pay heed to the demands and needs of the subjects. It is for altering this uncivilized system of government and preserving our self-respect that we resorted to the boycott of the Legislative Councils. Queen Victoria proclaimed that she was bound to answer the Indians even as she was bound to answer the British public. But, after 64 years, the British are still acting on the impression that they are the masters of India and that the Indians have been created by the mericiful God to minister to their conveneince. The latter are being treated as the coolies and agents of the Britishers. What freedom we enjoy in our movements is comparable only to that of an unchained dog. Rare patriots in our movements is comparable only to that of an unchained dog. Rare patriots who seek to advise the Government and strive heart and soul for the progress of the country are thrown into prison. Sir Edward Carson, who, during the late war, threatened that, unless his demands were granted, he would lead his armies on England is now a close friend of the Government in Ireland. But the Congress leaders who, having rendered immense aid to England in the time of that war, try to secure their ordinary rights by non-violent methods are imprisoned by thousands. This is all the liberty achieved by India. Was this the aim of Queen Victoria? Is her proclamation alive or dead? The Indians have no doubt that it is dead. If so, why cannot

it be buried and retrened to the place from whereit came? The Minto-Morley Reforms ended merely as a matter of theory. It was said that the Indians would be given a share in the Government. But it was only within ten years of the intorduction of these refomrs that the Punjab massacre took place and was followed by the KHILFAT injustice. And is it not after the establishment of the Montagu Legislative Councils that the Ghurka sepoys were made to attack and drive away innocent people and the non-violent Akali SATYAGRAHIS were beaten by LATHIS, sent to prison and afflicted there to the fullest extent? What influence then have we got? We have not the liberty to speak. If there were the liberty to write, Mahatma Gandhi would not have been clapped in jail. Queen Victoria's proclamation, the Monto-Morly Reforms and the Montagu Act have not brought us any liberty. Our slavish life is bieng perpetuated. There is only one course to remedy this great defect and that is to obtain SWARAJ by adopting the non-co-operation of Mr. Gandhi, completing the Bardoli programme and rsorting, if necessary, to civil disobedience also.

59. The SUTANDIRAN publishes a leader under the intials 'V.R.' in the course of which the following observations occur:- The Government of India are immeresed in the darkness of ignorance and arrogance. They deem the representations of the people to be the words of rebels and seditionists and continue to act rudely. I take it that they regard those who advise them as timid people. It is our misfortune indeed that they have not realized that it is not rigteous on their part to exhibit their strength in the case

The present situation.

of their subjects. The machinery of the Government of India which is run, by a monster force in in the hands of a small badnof people. It is running like a motor-car dashing rashly through passers-by. . . . . With the Rowlatt Act appeared the Saint of Sabermati, and he started the SATYAGRAHA movement in opposition to this Act and declared that, as this law and the Government that framed it stood in the way of his religious life, it was his duty to destroy that law and change that Government. For an Indian who wants to lead a wise and sanctified life, the only prop is his religion and God and this is he principle of the preaching of Mr. Gandhi. This was understood by the people. So the Government wholaid hands upon the preacher of this doctrine cannot hope to regainthe love of the people. Look again at the arrest of Sri Sankaracharya. This imprisonment demonstrates that even ascetics lose their regard for a Government which affects adversely the high ideals of man. When ascetics, who do not blame anybody, begin to blame the Government of India, it is patent that this Government is not consistent with righteous principles. When preceptors, whose duty is to preach to others from their seats, come to the front and preach in the open, it indicates the critical situation. The imprisonment of a woman again who, casting off her usual modesty, comes into the political arena also indicates that the present Government is not at all suitable to the life of the Indians.

61. The BALABHARATI writes:- . . . . To reduce the

EX The Inchcape Committee.

Expenditure of India, Government has appointed a committee under the presidency of Lord Inchcape. There are three ways of

refucing the Indian ~~ex~~ expenditure. They are: the introduction of a protective tariff, the selection of Indians for the higher appointments and the retrenchment in military expenditure. But it will certainly be a loss to the British people, if any one of these three methods is adopted. If protection is introduced, British trade will be affected; if retrenchment in the Military Department is effected, many Europeans have to go home; and if Indians are given the higher appontments, much of the money which now goes to England will have to remain in this country. . . . . Our Government have now made certain new rules. They are going to recruit thirty Englishmen this year for the Indian Medical Service. These I.M.S. men are given any number of facilities. While, on the one hand, efforts are being made to reduce the expenditure, on the other hand, much money is being unnecessarily wasted. Such a state of affairs cannot be found in any other Government but ours. It has resolved that our country should spend seventeen lakhs of rupees for the sake of the Empire Exhinition. Even great men are agreed that the advantage which may accrue to our country as a result, of India's participation in it is practically a zero. It is really quite unnecessary to spend seventeen lakhs overit. . . . . .

62. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA observes:- If the Inchcape Committee would only show themselves fearless in making honest and impartial recommendations, then the number of those myraids which at present die prematurely of starvation and disease would considerably decrease. But how can we

expect those humanitarian considerations among the westeners who think nothing of shooting down their domestic animals which have done them life-long service? If only the Government in taking their revenue would leave the people enough for their subsistence, how immensely the sitatuon would improve! Will the Inchcape Committee have the straight-forwardness to point this out and suggest retrenchment accordingly? This means that the strength of Lloyd George's battalion has to be reduced. Some of these are selfish to the core. Neither the Viceroy, nor the Parliament, nor even the Emperor can put down the high-handedness of one of the type of General Dyer. And there are at least one thousand among the officials who are as learned and autocratic as Sir william Vincent. Each one of these is capable of ruling the whole world. Lord Ripon and others who sought to bring them under control lost their own position. We say, therefore, that if it should be possible for Lord Inchcape to bring about retrenchments on the lines he suggested at St. Andrew's dinner, then the impossible would certainly happen.. . . . . . If our Government should be under the control of men like Mahatma Gandhi who have something of the divine in them, even the worst place on earth would be transoformed into a paradise. If, on the otherhand, it falls into the clutches of satanic wretches, the result is quite the reverse. Whether India gets justice from the Inchcape Committee or not, let Indians sink their minor differences and continue fearlessly to expose the shortcomings of the Government. In that event even the autocratic are bound to change their ways in course of time.

EJ 65. Reviewing the report of the Committee appointed by the Calcutta Legislature, anent the divison of the executive and the judicial functions, the NYAYA DIPIKA observes:- . . . . . . We believe that the recommendation ivesting the law courts with the power of revison abolishing the system of criminal cases undergoing revison thrice in the criminal courts themselves, at a time when there is much of financial stringency, is far-sighted. We doubt very much if, under the present bankrupt conditions, the other Provincial Governments will introduce such changes in their administration so soon. The Madras Legislative Council in its September session had appointed a committee to consider this matter and the Government approved of it. We do not know what it has done as yet. We hope that the Committee will make its recommendations in regard to the separation of the executive and the judicial functions.

The separation of powers.

NCS 66. Under this heading a correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA writes:- . . . . Oh, horrible times! It seems Mr. C. R. Das and others who are for the Council entry will obtain independence for Indians, leading them along stealthy ways and depriving them of the vow of 'non-violence, which gives shelter to the whole world from the rays of violence. If these people of the 'Dubashi' race, to which Mr. Das belongs, should succeed, they will drive out the righteous-minded who, understanding the creed of non-violence have adopted the non-co-opertion movement for the

A crisis.

solution of the critical problems confronting mankind. The political movement will fall into the hnds of scheming persons and national ideals will be obstructed. The Western civilization, which is full of greed and sensual pleasures, will attain success. Righteousness will be destroyed. Godliness in us will be replaced by a demoniacal nature. Chittaranjan has taken a vow to impart this demonical nature to Indians, while the latter who have been no better than brutes wish to be holy. Unbearable! Unbearable!

Mil. Ex. Military expenditure and other excesses of the Government.

67. The YUVABHARATHAM takes very strong exception to the military expenditure and 'other excesses' of the Government. It protests against the heartless waste of 62 crores of rupees on the military, when 80 per cent of the people--poor ryots-- have not enough to eat and the 32 crores of people are disarmed. It asks whether this army is meant for meeting external foes or to save the Government from the people. It points out that it is high time for India to proclaim to the world that she will not hold herself liable for the future debts of a Government which tries to suppress public opinion by the brute force of the army and other base means. Taking their stand on public opinion, the people are ready for SWARAJ. It thinks that the Congress should do the needful in the matter of disowning liability.

Con. The Congress programme and our duty.

68. The TAMIL NADU publishes an article unde this heading from the pen of a corespondent in the course of which he observes: If we are to attack the present system of Government

which stands as our common enemy and causes the same kind of harships to all, every Indian should realize the necessity of union; for it i only then we can fight the enemy properly. Can the Indians be divided even after they have observed a stranger interfering and creating a spirit of hatred by magnifying our trivial differences? It is an open secret that the party differences which now ~~xix~~ exist between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans have come into being only with the support of the bureaucrats. It is ~~Itxisxanxopenxsecretxthatxthexpartyxdi~~ known to all that, when Sir Alexander Cardew gave an advisory lecture to the Sourashtras, he disclosed this secret. There is no doubt that or non-Brahman brethren , who have entered the Councils, have begun to realize that the bureaucrats give them only the crumbs that are thrown away todogs, that they are used as mere tools to prevent the Brahmans causing obstruction to their actions and that ~~that~~ they have no influence or dignity except that they have to bear the brunt of public criticism fortheir having increased the taxes on account of the want of funds to administer the departments under the Ministers. The atrocities that resulted from the Panchamas having been set up during the mill disturbances in Madas cannot be forgotten. Gathering courage from the fact that they had the support of the Government, the Panchamas caused severalkinds of injury to high-caste Hindus. Seeing the differences between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans, which they created, decline, the Government party that owe their permanency to the dissensions which they create among others sought other fields to exploit. At this jucture it proved advantages to them

that the Panchamas had, for a long time, been prevented by the so-called higher castes from passing through public riads and taking water from village wells, and troubled inø other ways. This cleavage is indeed sufficent for those whose profession it is to take advantage of the smallest differences and create dissension.

NCS Mahatma Gandhi.

69. The MATRUSEVA reproduces in Telugu a letter written by Mr. John F. Hoylon of the American Association to one Silendra Nath Ghose. It contains among others, the following remarks:- I have received your letter together with a statement, in which you have described the enormous difficulties which Indians are under-going under a foreign government, which has kept then under subjection. . . . India which, even at the time she fell into the hands of the foreigners, had attained great fame as possessing one of the ancient nations with high degree of proficiency in arts and in general eduction, and which to-day contains a population twice that of Amderica, has had to remain in complete servitude under the British Empire for a century and a half. . . . . . . If we should examine the present state of affairs, in the light of the fundamental principles for which the Allies have drawn their sword, it must be said that it is going against them to keep India in a state of dependence.. . . . Is it just to go on still with the same state of affairs? All lovers of freedom should approve of the efforts which are now being made to get over these impossible conditions by the use of non-violent methods. Every person who wishes that justice,

pure and simple, should rule the whole civilized world must extend a helping hand to that movement.

76. The TAMIL NADU observes:- It has to be decided in the Gaya Congress whether the non-co-operation movement of Mahatma Gandhi is to be or not to be. Knowingly or not,

The Gaya Congress.

the Civil Disobedience Committee have, by giving an unani,ous opinion that the country is not prepared for civil disobedience, wrought harm to the movement which cannot be remdedied easily. The party of Mr. C. Rajagopla Achariyar condemns out and out any change being made in the Congress programme and insists on attention being centred on the completion of the construcive work, insists on attention which comprises the spread of KHADDAR and doing away with with the drink evil and untouchability. Consturctive work is no dount very essential and every one should strive to carry it out. But is not a thing that can be completed soon. Even after SWARAJ is acquired, this propaganda work should continue. This work is only one among the several and not the sole means of obtaining SWARAJ. So it is important that, in addition to constructive work, there should be a scheme which would bring pressure to bear upon the Government to serve the people. It should be the primary duty of the Gaya Congress to reject the report of the Civil Disobedience Committee. Failing which, it should reject the resoution advocating entry into the Legis-

lative Councils and pass one affording scope for commencing some sort of civil disobedience immediately. If this too is not done, every patriot is bound to suggest means for securing the speedy release of Mahatma Gandhi and other patriots. Indians will never be eligible for getting SWARAJ unless the MAHATMA is released. Did not civil disobedience succeed in Gurukabagh? Was there any trouble when thousands resorted to such disobedience in Bengal last year? Several other instances may be quoted. Civil disobedience is a movement which should be statted suddenly and disappear as soon as its object is achieved. If this principle is adopted as a permanent one, it will then become impossible for any Government to be conducted in this country.

77. Referring in its leader to the ensuing Congress at Gaya, the GUNTUR PATRIKA writes:- While destroying the demon (Gaya), the Great Vishnu had placed his foot, the symbol of the material cosmos, on the earth and killed him on it with the object of giving slavation even to him. The whole sacred place of Gaya is the foot of Vishnu. This is the mythological tradition. . . . . Here, Buddha conquered his lust. The destruction of Mara (Cupid) was the principal event in his life. . . . . There is another important matter. All the Hindus offer pindams (balls of cooked rice) here for the slavation of their ancestors. We are now going to secure salvation for the coming generations. We offer rice balls to our ancestors. But now we have tooffer balls made up of our bodies. We have to sacrifice all our energy in the great sacrifice. We have to sacrifice the animal of

selfishness. There can be no sacrifice without the slaughter of an animal, and there is no better animal that the animal of selfishness. If you do not consent to give up that animal. you are not a pilgrim. Every one who goes on a pilgrimage must offer the sacrifice. Every one must place bits of wood in the sacrifical fire; one must make a piece of wood of himself. Then alone will the fie shine brilliantly. Then alone will the God of fire make us realize the Yagnapurusha (the diety of the sacrifice).

78. In its leader the ANDHRAPATRIKA writes:- . . . . In this short time the non-co-operation movement has created a tremendous agitation in the minds of the people, and has produced a righteous revolution. The prestige of the Government has fallen. A feeling of contempt for the Government schemes has arisen. Insults, punishments ane repressive measures have lost their terror and illusion. Appointments, offices and honours have become the objects of contempt . . . . The authorities have tried to destroy popular enthusiasm by subjecting the people to repressive measures. Official repression has naturally paralysed the external activivies of the people. . . . The conditons of the country make it clear that, when the time comes, the people of all parts are prepared to practise civil disobedience and sacrifice themselves. . . . But they (the Legislative Council and the like are not useful in destroying the bureaucratic system . . . . . . Though there is some use of the Legislative Councils, long experince has shown that they will strengthen the bond of slavery to foreigners, and that they cannot destroy it, though they may disintegrate it.

79. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA remarks:- Mr. C. R. Das had decided upon a policy of contesting the elections. It is understood that he and his party are now considering whether it will not be best to adopt the non-violent non-co-operation of Gandhi in order to overcome all evil. We heartily welcome this news. When the Almighty has decreed that the evil actions of the autocrats should operte as machine guns as it were, that will wipe out their own selves, why should we lose control over our passions and take upon ourselves the duty of fulfilling His decrees? That is what Gandhi and the MAHATMAS think of the situation and this same opinion is echoed everywhere in the country. Let God Himself punish the wicked. Let their misdeeds themselves prove their enemies.

84. Referring to the news wired by Reuter that one Mr. M. N. Roy, who is doing propaganda work in foeign countries,

Con India and Bolshevism.

is now in Berlin and that he is spreading the Russian Bolshevik doctrines, the SWADESAMITRAN writes:- If Mr. Roy's suggestions are followed, non-co-operation will fly away and hatred, spite and rioting will crop up of their own accord. "euter would certainly have knwon that,while India is been t upon teaching non-violent methods of agitation to the world, the Congress will not bestow any attention on Bolshevik principles and methods. But there should be some reason for his having taken greater interest than even the Bolshevik agents in spreading this information through the papers. He should have, perhaps, thought that

this would prevent the people from supporting the Congress under the impression that this would prevent the people from supporting the Congress under the impression that its work would soon end in themethods of the Bosheviks being adopted. This telegam should only be a part of the anti-Indian propaganda that is being carried on in America and other countries. The Government have already prohibited copies of a pamphlet published by Mr. Ray from entering India. The telegraphic officials here refused to transmit a number of telegrams. What then is the reason for this telegram alone having been freely delivered to the press? Are the Government too conniving with Reuter to mar the name of the Congress? India is not going to learn from Berlin what SWARAJ is and how she should get it. She has the capacity to teach others how dependent countries can obtain SWARAJ. Solet Reuter and the Government understand that India will neither accept the Bolshevik methods referred to in the said telegram nor give up the agitation for SWARAJ for fear that it may end in Boshevism.

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